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er Johnson, General Agent : es are to be made, and all letters ning to the pecuniary concerns of the

ext. \$250 per annum, payable in advance; letters and communications must be rost

Aprestusements making one square will be in-

The preuniary concerns of the Liberator frection and supervision of a Commit-of the following gentlemen: Francis (x)) Quiscy, Ws. Bassett.

VOL. IX.

s are striking as artisan who repe gress. He nails the wall. The

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

HGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Yeoman's Gazette.1

ASTISLAVERY CONVENTION.

and with the intention expressed in our oters of this district, some remarks a in this town, upon its proceedye wish it to be distinctly understood, fault whatever with the ostensible on-ention, viz. to discuss the comparative or real political candidates upon the continut abolitionists. The right, the

dness of views on the subject of ite in a member of Congress, r in concert, inquire into the prinfeetly natural; it is their bury. acticed upon the great body of acticed upon the great body of astrict, by those faithless dele-with the shameless burlesque sech and conscientious principles zeal for which is supposed to dismmunity, which thi to represent; it is only with these character and history of the conest intentions which may have general object it proposed to

was a packed convention. It nion was a PACKED COMMENTION. It an undue proportion of Van Buren managers, and principal speeches, der Van Buren influences. Its Pres-and a prominent member, James active friends of the administration, e nomination of that party, in case the dropped, and therefore strong-tafur discussion of Mr. Brooks's nonists, and the adoption of him which result will necessarily follow The members were select ission. The members were execu-ones to their honesty, intilligence, but almost solely with a view to the cy could be made to fall in with the has few interested managers. (We speak dy; there were some noble exceptions,

was no recepow or discussion at the conof managers sat round a table, apart the convention, and rose one after the and resolutions, and made speeches. traveling agents of the anti-slavery in their spheres of labor, to dictate oters of Middlesex, men having no t in the district, men unacquainted s public or private character, except is of a party press; men ignorant enous of a party press; men ignorant so of the community towards him; men not to gather from the delegates from istrict the views of their townsmen re-ref the convention, but to instit their hese delegates, and thus diffuse them esse delegates, and thus unuse them unnity. The meeting was perverted a of the abolitionist voters of Middle-selavery lecture. No expression of al from the yeomanry of the district, a its inhabitants. When one gentlements with these managers had the decreasing, and candidly to state the oks upon their support, he was called , was scraped and coughed upled, was scraped and congred uple he was known to be a high-ising abolitionist; though he de-no party man, no Whig, no Tory, ow or busussion allowed in a con-represent a party, most strenuous the rights of petition and freedom arrison, and Wendell Phillips, (we spressed the strongest disappro-t usurpation, and the deepest ion of the purity of their cause. ists of Middlesex, further coume-

sentation at the Convention nuated that he had been prevented slavery at Townsend, by the advice The charge was false. So far as Mr. id or done any thing upon the sub-It Townsend he had said nothing. There ee that he even knew that it was in conhing. There in relation to the lectures in general. on upon the side of full and free toler ould relate facts upon this point, which to his mean traducer blush. The votes make the great in the Senate of Massattiken up and commented upon, and the minar were made to pervert them, and to if fair and apparent import. In short, of the managers of the Convention sist the strong claims of Mr. Prooks of honest and candid aboli party containing so much sincerity, ugh principle, as the party opposed to sex county, will allow themselves to

of crafty, selfish, and designing mer take care that they are represented by purpose, and independence of char-object is not the defeat of this or late, but true abolitionists; men not pledged the schemes of demagogues, but men of als, open to conviction, fearless in support-it, and faithful to the interests of their cause.

[From the Boston Courier.] OF THE COURSER :

from the returns of votes in the towns in Dis-s your paper of Thursday, that the second at-ta Representative from that District has been. This result has been owing to the policy of bolitonists. They have a second time, by a gaid to the interest of the District, Common-tic country, and by a reckless definee of the detacted the exertions of the inhabitants to se-duate the Courtes.

ted the exertions of the inhabitance value in Congress.

Are in Congress, sainty votes at the last trial, I assume that a given for individuals of Whig politics, are of votes given was \$493; of these the fed candidate, Mr. Brooks, had \$382—contitering votes, if given for him, would have close. Had these scattering votes been adversaries, we should have had no ground sit the case is far otherwise. The constitution of the case is far otherwise. given evidence that his opinions on are orthodox, and should be satisfacflory in the appellation of Abelition-ed by them that in every other par-qualified to represent them. What silar views. This admitted, what was a good faith and honesty, to the 4317 a who had voted in November for Mr. It is with a state of the work of the waste of the work of the at mind. But this will have no effect aers. They say to the 3362 supporters wiser and holier than you, and better and daties. From our position in the are, we hold the balance of power, we ion. It is our right so to do, and it is test at all events, this is our sovereign gaments, no counsels or inducements alon our ground. The 3362 must come Retrict No. 3 shall not be represented, that had better be unrepresented than dirtils, at great trouble and expense, an election. The chivalrous band of the superior of the superior



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1839.

The law provides that 'in case of no choice in a congressional district, the Governor shall cause precepts to issue, &cc., for snother election, 'and the like proceedings shall be repeated as often as occasion shall require.' [Revised Statutes, chapter 6, section 6.] Situated as this District is, occasion does not require another gathering at the polls. The attempt, for at least six months to come, would be fruitless, and worse than useless. Let then the Governor delay issuing his requisition until that period, at least, shall have gives leisure and occasion for the misguided and frenzied minority to see the folly and criminality of their conduct, and bring forth fruits meet for repeatance. By so doing he will consult the true interest of the people, and receive the thanks of a majority of the electors of DISTRICT NUMBER FOUR.

December 20, 1838.

[From the same.]

Much is said in the Abolition journals, to prove that tholitionists are of b th political parties. We do not Much is said in the Abolition journals, to prove that Abolitionists are of b th political parties. We do not believe it. We never did believe it. We do not even extend our charity quite so far as the Post does, to admit that even a few of its party are drawn away by the Abolition excitement. Those who profess to belong to the Van Buren party and advocate the peculiar and distinguishing doctrines of the Abolitionists, we believe to be a set of as arrant political knaves and hypures. The second resolution was adopted by a vote of 198 to 6, and then adjourned. On Wednesday, the 12th of December, the House resultions and then adjourned. On Wednesday, the 12th of December, the House resultions are the consideration of Mr. Atherton's resolutions. The second resolution was adopted by a vote of 198 to 6, and then adjourned. On Wednesday, the 12th of December, the House resultions of Mr. Atherton's resolutions. The second feronical the consideration of Mr. Atherton's resolutions.

ocrites, as ever escaped the just punishment of knavery and double-dealing.

At the late election in the Fourth District, it is pretty evident that very few, if any, professed abolitionists of the 'democratic' party, refused to vote for Mr. Parmenter. We have it from good authority that several such persons did cast their votes for that gentleman, despite the Pledge to vote for neither of the political candidates. Does any man believe that Dr. Amos Farnsworth or the Rev. James T. Woodbury voted Farnsworth or the Rev. James T. Woodbury voted for Mr. Scattering? If they did, it was for their private interest to do so, for both of them were candidates, and both are looking forward to the time when the abolitionists will set up a candidate of their own, with no little anxiety. And six or seven hundred Whigs in the district—simple, honest souls,—suffer themselves to be gulled and cheated into the belief that these avowed advocates of Van Buren, are at heart abolitionists. ed advocates of Van Buren, are at heart abolitionists ed advocates of Van Buren, are at neart nonmonists. What blindness and inconsistency, to suppose that a man can be, at the same time, an abolitionist and supporter of the man who declared that he would never approve any act that should abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Yet such is the weakness and fatuty of more than six hundred voters in the Fourth Dis a number sufficient to prevent the election of any candidate that can be put in nomination, though that nomination be approved by 3862 electors.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS ..

The House of Representatives have recently adopted The House of Representatives have recently another a standing order, in pursuance of the precedents of the last three years, which order, under pretence of protecting slavery at the South from northern encroachments, does in fact impose many of the most odious of the shackles of slavery upon the people of the North, and

congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institu-tion of slavery in the several states of the Confederacy. Resolved, That petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one state to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the sev-eral states, and thus indirectly to destroy that institu-

knowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the states or another, with a view of abolishing the one or promoting the other.

Resolved, therefore, That all attempts on the part raised by Mr. Wise, whether the fifth resolution discrete decide the states or been as yet permitted to them; yet some incident have occurred, which serve to indicate distinctly the opinions, as well as those of the South.

On the 14th of December instant, a question was raised by Mr. Wise, whether the fifth resolution discrete decide the server in the part of Column.

Resolved, therefore, That all attempts on the part Resolved, therefore, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or the territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from state to state, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the constitutional principles on which the Union of the constitutional principles on which the Union of the states rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition or paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table without printing, reading, debate or reference.'

That these resolutions were a party measure, has been called by the Speaker, and confirmed by out of the House, that the question itself was not in order, no decisive result followed.

I do not think, however, that it can be well denied that such petitions are in fact received, under the resolution, proposition or paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall on the presentation of the resolution. The considerations are these. When a petition is offered, the first thing is the reception of it; which is the act of the House. If not of the House.

publicly charged in debate in the House, and not, that I know, denied. The resolutions, it is said, were agreed upon at a caucus of the friends of Mr. Van Buren belonging to the House, held on the Saturday evening previous, and were submitted accordingly on Tuesday. I do not derive this from common rumor merely, but from higher and responsible authority. Before they had been offered in the House, a copy of the control of the court of south Carolina, and they were pub-

thirds of the members present.

thirds of the members present.

Perceiving that the resolutions had for their object to gag the members of the House, and to suppress as well the petitions of the people as the acts of any of the states in relation to slavery, even though within the constitutional jurisdiction of Congress,—and foreseeing that the resolutions would be forced upon the lates the invitational force of the states in the resolutions would be forced upon the lates the invitational force of the states in the resolutions would be forced upon the lates.

Several gentlemen from slaveholding states asked to excused from voting chiefly on the ground that to octained from voluing chiefly on the ground that of vote in the negative would place them in a false position; that a large number of Representatives from the slaveholding states (those members who are opposed to the present administration) had been purposely extended from all previous counsel or participation in the concection of resolutions professedly presented for the benefit of the South, while members from the adverse part of the Union had been admitted thereto, and were allowed to take the ostensible lead in the business; that they did not in all respects approve the resolutions or their particular party object; and especially because (it was alleged) the resolutions wholly gave up the only grounds of constitutional right on which it was competent for the South to stand—But the House proceeded to adopt the first of the resolutions by a vote of 198 to 6, and then adjourned.

On Wednesday, the 12th of December, the House resumed the consideration of Mr. Atherton's resolutions.

The Accord reconstitution of Mr. Atherton's resolutions. vote in the negative would place them in a false posi-

And that every petition, memorial, resolution, prop-And that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without my further action thereon, be laid on the table without being debated, printed, or referred.

This clause contains the practical part of the set of esolutions; all that precedes it being merely declaratory and speculative, and in the nature of a preamble It was adopted by a vote of 127 ayes to 78 noes, all the members from Massachusetts being present and voting

in the negative.

By the vote on this concluding clause of the fifth resolution, the right of petition was in my judgment set at naught, and the members of the House gagged

for the residue of the session.

On comparing this vote with the vote in virtue of which the resolutions were received, you will per-ceive that if all the members who disapproved of the main clause of the whole, had voted against the suspension of the rules, the resolutions could not have been introduced at that time. The rules were suspended in a House of 204 members present, two-thirds of which is 136; and the final clause was carried by only 127 votes, being less than 136, and less than two-thirds in a House of 205 members.

only 127 votes, being less than 136, and less than two hirds in a House of 205 members present. Several important reflections suggest themselves a regard to these resolutions. This method of suppressing petitions, resolutions,

This method of suppressing petitions, resolutions, and debate, in regard to slavery, was originally introduced, as you know, in the first session of the twenty-fourth Congress. It began with the resolutions of May 25th, 1836, reported by Mr. Punckney of South Carolina; the concluding one among which is very similar. in substance to, though in language not ider does in fact impose many of the most odous of the shackles of slavery upon the people of the North, and their Representatives.

This order, now as heretofore, has been carried under the previous question, without any opportunity having been afforded the minority for the expression of their objections to it. Nor have they at any time had such an opportunity in the House.

Under these circumstances, precluded from any direct discussion of this order by debate in the House, and unwilling longer to remain silent under an oppressive and (as I deem it) unconstitutional regulation, address myself on the subject immediately to the people; to which course I recur, not merely as there is no other left open to me, but furthermore because in the hands of the people themselves is now the only effective remedy for an evil that cannot continue to be passively endured without dishonor.

By one of the standing rules of the House, the Speaker is to call for petitions from the members of each state every day during the first thirty days of the session, and afterwards on the first day of meeting in each week.

Owing to the House having been previously occupied in its organization, the Speaker could not begin the call until Tuesday, the 11th day of December. the concluding part of Mr. Atherton's. Mr. Pinkney

Owing to the House having been previously occupied in its organization, the Speaker could not begin the call until Tuesday, the 11th day of December.
On that day, it being the first petition day of the session, the state of Maine was called, and then the state of New Hampshire; whereupon Mr. Atherton of that taste, rose, and asked leave to offer the following resolutions, which were read for the information of the House:

(Resolved, That this Government is of limited powers, and that by the Constitution of the United States. and that by the Constitution of the United States, [ton's, on the contrary, admit by implication that Con

set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several states, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their several limits.

Resolved, That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly, and the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the territories, as a means or with the view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several resolutions.

Whether this remarkable peculiarity of the present resolutions. ates, is against the true spirit and meaning of the the bulwarks of specific argument, with which the

nestitution, an intringement of the rights of the states lifected, and a breach of the public faith on which they need into this confederacy.

Resolved, That the constitution rests on the broad although such members from the South nave been accustomed to deflect on the progress of the resolutions through the House, although such members from the South nave been accustomed to deflect on the progress of the resolutions through the House, although such members from the South nave been accustomed to deflect on the South nave been accustomed to deflect the south nave been ac

or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table without printing, reading, debate or reference.

That these resolutions were a party measure, has been sublicly charged in debate in the House, and not, that know, denied. The resolutions, it is said, were received, the petition remains in the possession of the member, as repeatedly decided in the twenty fourth Congress. If received, it leaves the possession of the nember, and comes into that of the House; and it cannot be in possession of the House without having been received. When received by the House, it stands for further extinue, and that further actions in the present t further action; and that further action in the presen Before they had been offered in the House, a copy of them was sent to South Carolina, and they were published there in the Charleston Mercury, with an avowal of their having originated in the manner above stated, and a declaration that they mere to be presented to the House for its adoption; it being apparently anticipated as a matter of course, that the House would register unchanged, the decrees of the barty causes of the sensitive and the sum of the sum saturday. These resolutions having been submitted to the presentation of the mediate place, by force of the word 'further', and that action cannot be the presentation, which is the House at a time appropriated to the presentation of petitions, could not be received without unanimous consent, or a suspension of the rules by a vote of two ception and laying on the table. Indeed, the result of the discussions in the treaty fourth Concrete words. discussions in the twenty fourth Congress was

the constitutional jurisdiction of Congress,—and foreseeing that the resolutions would be forced upon the
House by the instrumentality of the previous question,
so as to preclude amendment or debate,—induced by
these considerations, I objected to the introduction of
the resolutions.

Mr. Atherton then moved a suspension of the rules,
which was carried, ayes 138, noes 66, all the members
from Massachusetts present voting in the negative.

After which, Mr. Atherton addressed the House at
some length in support of the resolutions, and concluded by moving the previous question, which motion, notwithstanding the remonstrances of several members,
was persisted in, and carried, by a vote of 114 ayes to
107 noes, all the members from Massachusetts being
presented by Mr. Adams, Mr. Bynum
of the recolutions, and concluded by moving the previous question, which motion, notwithstanding the remonstrances of several members,
was persisted in, and carried, by a vote of 114 ayes to
107 noes, all the members from Massachusetts being
presented by Mr. Adams, Mr. Bynum
of the recolutions.

Thompson.

In the course of these debates, Mr. Adams, Mr. The question of reception has been somewhat dis

107 noes, all the members from Massachusetts being present and voting in the negative.

I demanded a division of the question on the several resolutions, it being the right of any member so to discuss directly the resolution of the 12th of Dec., yet do.

without impediment or condition; and did, in effect, therefore, call in question and impugn the principle of the resolution.

It was contended that the common and parliamentary law of England was our law; and that as petitions were sometimes refused reception by the House of Commons, they might be by Congress, notwith standing the clause of the Constitution, which probabilists any abridgement of the right of petition. Such as a partial to that the people of the North are to be unconstitutionally deprived of the right of petition is not founded upon or weakened by the common law. It is a natural right, inherent in us as men, and so guarded by the institutions of the states, the people of which, in framing the Constitution of the United States, forbade Congress to touch the freedom of conscience, speech, and the press, and the right of petition.

Independently of the technical point of reception, another important point came under review in the same debates. The object of these petitions, it was not denied, is a constitutional one; but they should be refusal notwithstanding, it was urged, because of the motives of the petitioners, their applications, it was said, being asseptiated with or a part of abaltical point of the resolutions should be beneficial to the slave interest of the South. Nothing could be more fatal to that interest, than to establish in the public mind conclusively the fact, that, in order to maintain slavery at the South, the fact, that, in order to maintain slavery at the South, the fact, that, in order to maintain slavery at the South. Nothing could be more fatal to that times establish in the public and to establish in the public and conclusively the fact, that, in order to maintain slavery at the South, it is necessary to put an end to liberty ever where; that the people of the North are to be unconstitutional free specific currialed of their pript of put in extensions in the right of petition.

Besides, all these vain and spasmodic efforts, to exclude anti-slavery petitions from considerat

nuit and void; and I moved to have my protest entered in the journal; but the Chair decided that the motion was not in order.

Regarding the fifth resolution in a constitutional point of view only, it is, indeed, liable to the gravest objections.

It is customary for the several State Legislatures to adopt resolutions and memorials to Congress on interesting subjects as they arise; and such documents, emanating from the sovereign members of the Federal Union, have, until recently, been treated with the respect and consideration due to them in courtesy, and to which they are moreover constitutionally-entitled. By the fifth resolution, all such documents, if they touch slavery in any way, are to be uncerremoniously and discouracously thrown upon the table, unheard and unconsidered.

It is the imprescriptible right of the people to petition Congress; and there can be (constitutionally) no abridge the right, but furthermore absolutely stifies and smothers the petitions themselves. It is frequently said, indeed, that anti-slavery petitions are to be refused a hearing, because they pray (it is alleged) for the best paraged the implication of Congress has no right to do that indirectly which the cannot do directly, and that the aginative of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, as a means or with the view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the states affected, and a breach of the public faith on which they entered into this Confederacy.'

This resolution, an infringement of the rights of the constitutionally not only abridge the right, but furthermore absolutely stifles and smothers the petitions themselves. It is frequently said, indeed, that anti-slavery petitions are to be refused a hearing, because they pray (it is alleged) for this experience over the people of the United States. By the third resolution it was a court of conscience over the people of the United States. By the third resolution it was a court of conscience over the people of the United States. By

stifles and smothers the petitions themselves. It is frequently said, indeed, that anti-slavery petitions are to be refused a hearing, because they pray (it is alleged) for things beyond the jurisdiction of Congress. This view of the question is an erroneous one. The merelegislative jurisdiction of Congress under the Constitution, is limited and specific; but Congress has authority, also, to propose amendments of the Constitution, is limited and specific; but Congress has authority, also, to propose amendments of the Constitution in the propositions of this kind are made in it continually; and therefore things beyond the Constitution may be lawfully petitioned for, because through an amendment of the Constitution, they may be lawfully reached. Of course the right of petition cannot be limited by the fact of subject matter, as whether within the ordinary legislative jurisdiction of Congress or not.

of subject matter, as whether within the ordinary legislative jurisdiction of Congress or not.

Freedom of debate—the right to propose proper
things at some fitting time—is of the very essence of
deliberative assemblies, and is carefully provided for
in the constitution. Yet if by the arbitrary desponism
of a majority, rules may be established, which constitute a percetual antecedent prohibition of motion or dethings at some fitting time—to the very essence of deliberative assemblies, and is carefully provided for in the constitution. Yet if by the arbitrary despoism of a majority, rules may be established, which constitute a perpetual antecedent prohibition for mot on or debate, there is an end of the privilege itself. And the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbiate, there is an end of the privilege itself. And the abolition of slavery within the states, was extraordinary means, of some selected local or sections in the state of the proposal content of the state of

denied, is a constitutional one; but they should be refused nowithstanding, it was urged, because of the matiles of the petitioners, their applications, it was said, being associated with, or a part of, abolition plans; and because the recognition of the independence of Hayti might have a moral or indirect inducence incleantally prejudicial to the slave interests of the South. If this were to be conceded—if things, constitutional and right in themselves, were not to be considered by Congress at all, provided the motives or object of the petitioners might by some contingent possibility, hear upon slavery—there could be no end to the sacrifices, which the rest of the Union would have to make to the sensitiveness or debility of that particular interest. But the House apparently did not concur in these views; for the petitions were received, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Direct endeavors have not be on wanting, to impugand destroy the force of the resolution of the 12th of December.

On the 13th, induced by the wish to debate the subject and justify his votes, Mr. Adams asked leave to introduce a resolution, which, setting forth in a preamble the enormity of the slave trade as carried on from the District of Columbia, proposed to resid the concluding part of the resolution of the 12th, in order to bring the subject before the House; but the House refused leave, all the members from Massachusetts voting in the minority, and in favor of leave.

On the 14th, in the voting on a question of order before the House, regarding the construction of the 15th, in the voting on a question of order before the House, the following and the resolution, Mr. Adams, on his name being called, interposed a remark to the effect, that he refused to vote on the pending question, because he considered the resolution a violation of the Constitution of the 15th, in the proving on a question of order before the House, regarding the construction of the 15th, in the proving on a question of the 15th in the solution, Mr. Adam

the resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

On the 18th, Mr. Lincoln of Massachusetts, in offering some anti-slavery petitions, said that the extraordinary and arbitrary rule lately adopted, alone prevented his urging the consideration of the petitions; that be did not consent to offer them for the purpose of consigning them to the table; and that he desired to be understood, in presenting them, as doing it in no submission to the rule, but that, in possession of the House, they might remain a memorial to all time of the violated privileges of the people in a denial of tright of pesticas.

On the 28th, Mr. Adams, in presenting a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories of the understood, in presenting them, as doing it in no submission to the rule, but that, in possession of the House, they might remain a memorial to all time of the violated privileges of the people in a denial of the right of pesticas.

On the 28th, Mr. Adams, in presenting a petition for the abolition of slavery in the several limits.

I voted in the negative on this proposition, for these, and against the removal of slavery in the several limits.

I voted in the negative on this proposition, for these, and that the petitioners, agreeably to a request made by them, might be heard at the bar of the House by themselves or by counsel; but the motion was ruled to be out of order by reason of the fifth resolution.

On the same day, being the first occasion of my presenting an anti-sinvery petition after the adoption of the resolutions of the 12th, I protested that, in submitting to the application of that resolution to the period of the resolution to be unconstitutional, and in itself purely null and void; and I moved to have my protest entered in the journal; but the Chair decided that the motion was not in order.

Regarding the fifth resolution in a constitutional

AGENTS.

MAINE Nathan Winslow, Portland. Seth Rogers, Brewer,

NEW-HANPSHIRE N. P. Rogers, Plymouth, Willard Russel, Amberst

VERMONT. John Bement, Woodstock.

NEW YORK J. P. Bishop, Utica,
Henry Mott,
Henry Willis,
Chas: S. Morton, Albany,
Daniel Judson, Utica,
John H. Barker, Peru.

PENNSYLVANIA. H. C. Howell, Pittsburg,
W. H. Clarke, Alleghany,
M. Preston. West Grove,
Joseph Fulton, Jr. Swan,
Thos. Peart, Enterprise,
Aaron Vichers, Lionville,

NO. 4.

ISAAC KNAPP, PRINTER

indirectly some result which Congress cannot consti-tutionally reach by a direct act. And you may open the statute book of the United States, and compare the laws enacted with the parliamentary debates corres-ponding to them, and there is not a single important debated law, the enactment of which may not be found to have been advocated by considerations of inciden-tal good to result, or subject to objections of meidental

lal good to result, or subject to objections of incidental injury to result, in particulars not within the direct jurisdiction of Congress. That is to say, not only does Congress every day lawfully pass acts, which accomplish indirectly that which it has no power to do directly; but the familiar and daily arguments in support of or opposition to the ordinary neas of legislation, the motices of the act; are in multiplied instances things undeniably beyond the power of Congress.

The fourth resolution in these words:

The fourth resolution in these words : Resolved, That the Constitution rests on the broad

principles of equality among the members of this confederacy, and, that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States or another, with a view of abolishing the one or promotions the effect.

I voted in the affirmative in both parts of the reso-utions. In doing this, however, I acted with reference o what I conceive to be the main scope and general spir-t of the constitution, not unmindful of the fact, that it it of the constitution, not unmindful of the fact, that it involves some inequalities, the fruit of compromise and mutual conciliation among the founders of the Government; among which inequalities, the greatest of all is the concession nominally to all the States, but in fact to only a part, of a basis of representation in Congress, obtained 'by adding to the whole number of free persons, there fifths of all other persons! But I adopt the resolution as in the substance and spirit true, and I add that, admitting its truth, instead of justifying the object of the fifth resolution, it does the reverse; for by that resolution, Congress does 'discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and another with a view of abolishing one and promoting the other,' because it in effect 'abolishes' the right of petition at the North for the purpose of 'promoting' slavery at the South.

statery at the South.

Having thus commented on this act of the House of Representatives in its several parts, I have only to add in conclusion, that, in attempting to show its injustice and unconstitutionality. I have confined myself as far as possible to the precise merits of the question, in order that the case may stand upon its proper bottom; that I have not, therefore, entered into those ulterior questions, which the act of the House was designed to smother; but I am persuaded that those ulterior questions must ofnecessity ere long be considered, discussed, and settled; I think it is for the interest as well of the South as of the North, not to shrink any more the South as of the North, not to shrink any more from the subject, since, dangerous and exciting as it may be, in this as in every other danger it is the part alike of courage and of sense to look the thing directly in the face, and meet it frankly and manfully; I betheve that such a course in the present instance will best promote the peace and safety of the Union; and I venture to predict that this will be the prevailing sen-timent of the Congress which shall next assemble. However this may be, I shall have discharged a

part of my own duty in this contingency, by exhibiting the present facts to the people of the State whose representative I am.

Washington, 22d Dec. 1838.

THE GAG-LAW-PUBLIC MEETING AT SALEM A large number of citizens assembled at the Lycem Hall, in Salem, on Saturday evening, Jan. 13, in

A large number of chizens assembled at the Lyceum Hall, in Salem, on Saturday evening, Jan. 13, in pursuance of the call of a Committee previously appointed, to express their disapprobation of the recent proceedings of the House of Representatives in subversion of the right of petition. The Hon. David Cummas being called to the chair, and J. S. WILLIAMS, Esq. appointed Secretary, the Hon. Stremes C. Phillips addressed the meeting at length, in a spirited and interesting manner, and concluded by offering a Preamble and Resolutions for consideration, which were adopted.

and Resolutions for consideration, which were adopted.
The resolutions were seconded and very ably supported by John W. Treadwell, Esq. and afterwards taken up separately and unanimously adopted by the neeting.

It was then voted that the proceedings of this meet-

ing, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, be published, and forwarded to each of the Massachuseus Defe-

gation.

The following are the resolutions:

Whereas many citizens of this place, in common with great numbers of their fellow-citizens in various parts of the country, have addressed petitions to the Congress of the United States during its present ses-sion, in which, in a respectful manner, they have urged the justice and expediency, the right and the dishing Slavery in the District of Columbia. and the Territories of the United States, and of prohiband the reritories of the Connect states, and of prohibiting or restraining the commerce in slaves 'among the several States, as well as with foreign nations'—
And whereas, before an opportunity had been afforded

And whereas, before an opportunity had been afforded for the presentation of these petitions, their reception, consideration, and any further action thereon, were effectually prevented by the adoption in the House of Representatives of the following resolutions, viz:

'Resolved, That this government is a government of limited powers, and that, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the soveral States of

the confederacy.

'Resolved, That the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are part of the plan of operations of the United States. tions set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several States, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their limits.

Resolved, That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Co-

lumbia, or the Terrifories, as a means, and with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith,

of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith, on which they entered into the confederacy.

Resolved, That the Constitution rests on the broad principle of equality among the members of this con-dederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its ac-knowledged powers, has no right to discriminate be-tween the institutions of one portion of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promot-ng the other. ng the other.
 Resolved therefore, That all attempts on the part

of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Colum-bia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the country and anoth-er with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the Constitution, destructive of the fundamental principles on which the Union of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table without being debated, printed or

be laid on the table without being debated, printed or referred.'

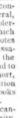
And whereas such a proceeding is without a parallel in the history of this government and without a precedent elsewhere, and can only be viewed as a dangerous attempt to deny to the people the exercise of one of their clearest rights, and the enjoyment of one of their most cherished privileges: And whereas, for the present there remains no alternative to those who are aggrieved by such a proceeding but to appeal from the Representatives of the people to the people themselves, to protest against the arbitrary assumption of power to which they are compelled to submit, and to declare the principles and purposes to which they must consistently and conscientiously adhere—therefore,

Resolved, 'That this government is a government of limited powers, and that by the constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over, the 'right of petition, as guaranteed to the people

over, the' right of petition, as guaranteed to the people of the several States;—that this right is a necessary attribute of the popular sovereignty upon which Representative government is founded—that it is the duty of the people to exercise it, and equally the duty of their people to exercise it, and equally the duty of their entatives to respect, maintain, and preserve it

inviolate.

Resolved, 'That the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of the plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery' wherever Congress has 'power to exercise exclusive



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NAC. 1839.

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IA HALL. 25 Cornhill, Beston.

Resolved, That so far as 'Congress has no right to do that indirectly, which it cannot do directly, there can be no distinction between the unqualified rejection of petitions, and their nominal reception for the avowed purpose of instantaneous suppression; and that the rejection or suppression of petitions 'upon the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, as a means, and with a view of continuing that institution therein, and of thus indirectly effecting its extension and perpetuity in the several States, 'is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the 'non-slaveholding States, 'and a breach of the public faith on which they

of liberty and equality among the people and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledge powers, has no right to discriminate between? one por-tion of the people and another, ' with a view of abolish-ing the' rights of the one 'and promoting the' inter-

ests of the other.

Resolved therefore, That all wisely directed efforts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the Dis-trict of Columbia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State, or to refrain from discriminating between the rights of one portion f the people and the interests of another 'with views aforesaid,' are in conformity to the constitution subsidiary to the fundamental principles on which the union of these States rests, and within the jurisdiction union of these States rests, and within the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, should, on presentation, without any further objection thereto, be received, printed, referred, deliberately considered, and solemnly acted upon—to the end that the character of the sation may be honorably re-established, that the triumph of truthand justice may be unobstructed, and that the worthiest objects of patriotism and humanity, may be securely accomplished.

olved. That we have seen, with mortification and disgust, that the Resolutions recited in the preamble were brought forward and carried at the instance and by the aid of many Representatives of non-slaveholding states—that we hold them mainly responsible for whatever consequences may result from such an act of reckless submission to party dictation—and that, in recatess summission to party dectation—and that, in contryst with their course, we have beheld with satis faction and pride the independent, consistent and united action of the Massachusetts delegation, on whom we may continue to rely as faithful guardians of the rights, interests and honor at their section. interests and honor of their constituents, and as fear less advocates of those principles of civil liberty, which were bequeathed by our ancestors to be transmitted un-

Professor Drew, of Virginia, estimates it as well home-bred slaves annually, worth probably at the prices which have ruled for the last four or five years, more than six millions of dollars, or nearly as much as the whole whale fishery of Massachusetts.—Boston Post.

[And yet, Mr. Stevenson, our democratic minister to England, has the brazen impudence to assert that Virginia is not a slave breeding State!]

COMMUNICATIONS. ABOLITION AND UNIVERSALISM.

WOBURN, Dec. 10, 1838.

I wish to inquire of you, or, through your paper of the public, whether there is a consistent Universalist periodical published in the United States. By consist-

ent, I mean one that practically upholds the doctrine, that all mankind are brethren. I know there are many that preach this doctrine, but in their practice give the lie to their professions, and thereby expose their hypocrisy. Your neighbor Whittemore, of the Trumpet, professes, and sometimes preaches very eloquently this truth; but then his actions, which speak londer than words, show that it comes from the head, and not from the heart. How was it with him a few years since, when one of his colored brothers purchase new in the Universalist church of Cambridgeport? Why, he came out in the next Trumpet, with a flaming that, unless it was immediately dissolved, and the pew bought back, he would persuade his country friends not to trade at the store kept by one of the firm; and all this, because his colored brother wished to hear the love of God proclaimed, and accordingly took his seat in his own pew on the Sabbath in the Universalist Church! Does not this substantiate what I said above -that his preaching comes from the head, and not from the heart? Or, in plainer terms, does it not prove, that all his professions about loving all men as brothers, are hypocritical and false? If it does not, then I will tell you what does. He has ever declared himself an enemy to oppression, and a hater of iniquity; and, ac cordingly, almost every Trumpet holds up to contempt one or more cases of this sort. 600,000 Methodists says he, are controlled by the bishops, as regards their choice of religious teachers. Abominable! E. K. Avery is held in full fellowship by them; this is conniving at iniquity. Then follows a case among the heartily approve of this exposing wickedness, let it be nd where it will; but mark the hypocrisy it brings to light! When outrages, a thousand fold worse than any of those which he learns are inflicted on the white, are inflicted on the black, he is mute-he opens not his mouth in their behalf; no matter how tender and sacred may be the ties sundered, or how cruel and barbarous the wrong endured. If a child is stolen from the bosom of its mother, or a husband from the confiding wife; if one is driven to labor without wages, (which, by the way, Mr. W. is very fond of,) till his very heart's blood is exhausted; or, what is worse, if that book which alone reveals a life beyond the grave, which alone exhibits the character of God in all its truth and purity, is denied them, yea, actually put out of their reach,-he is silent as the grave ; he does not even insinuate that it is wrong. Yea, more; at the last meeting of the Massachusetts State Convention of Universalists, he labored hard to persuade others not to insinuate such a thing, and I am confident that no one, by reading his paper, would ever mistrust that deeds so infernal were ever committed in self-conceited, republican, christian America. If this is not inconsis tency of the grossest sort, and if it does not give the lie direct to his professions when he pretends to regard all as brethren, then I know not what inconsistency or hypoerisy is. I have taken the Trumpet for the last eight years, fondly hoping that Br. W. would repent of this outrageous injustice to his colored brethren; but my hope has fled. He is joined to his idols-I must let him alone. I cannot, in duty to my God, my religion, my oppressed brethren, or to myself, countenance such iniquity; and I fear that the little countenance I have bestowed is not among the smallest sins of my life. I have seen several other papers published by Uni-

versalists, but of the same hypocritical stamp above exposed. I want one free from such barefaced wickess; and if there are none such to be found, I ask Universalist abolitionists if it is not their imperious duty to establish one? Does not your religion demand this of you? Will you consent to have the allegation thrown in your face, that not a paper in the United States represents your religious views? that they all bear the stamp of hypocrisy? 'I speak as unto wise men; judge ye what I say.' For one, I pledge myself to use the little influence I may be capable of exerting in the circle in which I move, to obtain subscriber and will pay ten dollars per annum towards its support, until it may be able to sustain itself. This, I know, is doing but little; yet, as I am but a poor mechanic, getting my daily bread by the sweat of my brow, it is all that I dare promise for the present. If others will do the same in proportion to their ability, we can have one on permanent footing in a few months. What say you,

Lest any should think, from the plain manner in which I have written, that some animosity or private pique has moved me to write, I solemnly affirm, as in the presence of my Judge, that no such feeling exists in my bosom, that I never had any other reason than that above stated to be offended with br. W., and that nothing but my love to God and man could ever have

i aduced me to speak of his failings as I have. If any one will give me the desired information through the columns of the Liberator, he will confer a

great favor on A UNIVERSALIST ABOLITIONIST.

BRISTOL CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society held its quarterly meeting at Fall River, in the Baptist Mr. Garrison:

ning session was opened with prayer by Rev. Timothy Merritt.

Coombs, John S. Dill, and Ezra R. Johnson,
On motion of Ezra R. Johnson,
Resolved, That prejudice against color, as it exists in this country, which excludes colored people from the Academics and Colleges, from the inside of stage-coaches and steam-boats and most of the of stage-coaches and steam-boats and most of the friends of emancipation in this as well as in other places, cannot but feel under great obligations to you, for all that you have done and suffered in behalf of the

Rev. Mr. Lovell. by Messrs. St. Clair, Lovell, Bronson, and others; after which, it was unanimously adopted.

in Congress, as a gross and palpable violation of the Constitution of the U.S., and an infamous outvage on the right of petition and the freedom of speech; that we behold in the service tone with th which it is greeted by the presses generally through the free States, cause of just alarm for our own safety, and an imperious call upon the people through the length and breadth of the land, to awake to a sense of their danger whilst there is called the captives, and the opening of the prison

Resolved, That in the midst of this northern to those who are bound. servility and southern tyranny, we are cheered by the beams of one bright star breaking through the thick mists of political darkness;—that in this opinions may differ on other subjects of equal importance of the property star of promise, the venerable John Quincy Ap-ans, we see cause to hope;—that our confidence in his stern integrity and love of liberty is both

control of the Board of Managers, is now greatly

Resolved, That we recommend to the Board of Managers of said Society to make arrangements, if practicable, with the editor of the Liberator, to make that paper the said organ; (2) or, if this cannot be done, then we earnestly recommend to them to establish a paper of their own, as recommended by the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society, at its late meeting in Fitch-lurg.

dence in Wm. Lloyd Garrison as an abolitionist, () and consider the Liberator, edited by him, so FAR by urge it as a duty upon abolitionists, to 'carry their AS IT IS DEVOTED TO THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, (4) principles to the ballot-box.' It may be said—and truan efficient and able paper, and entitled to the patronage of its friends. (5)

Voted, to meet on the 2d Tuesday of April, at ge of its friends. (5) ted, to meet on the 3d Tuesday of April, at Bedford.

of such action; but each one must judge for himself, of how much consequence this may be to the community, Adjourned to evening.

C. C. NICHOLS, Rec. Sec.

resolution perceived the consequences attending erator, any farther than that discards abolition now greatly needed in this State.'

rator. The offer is a mockery.

(3) We are very much obliged to the meeting.

(4) How truly contemptible is all this! Brethren a will be ashamed of it, ere long. The Liberator is We furnish, weekly, twenty solid columns of anti-slavery matter to our readers-enough to satisfy the most wherever it has been circulated? Have not its readers discussion respecting the holy cause of Peace, in one waging in that District? Can it be proved that a sinrner of our paper, there ought to be another paper !! | gle s (5) 'Its friends'-a peculiar phraseology.

FREE DISCUSSION.

ent the circulation of the Liberator, because it advo- tablish another !-- 1.] ates the peace principles, &c. &c. They are evidently afraid of free discussion. For one I rejoice that there one paper whose columns are open to the discussion all moral subjects.' To us it seems very surprising held on Monday evening, 14th inst. Abner Belcher, that 'leading abolitionists' cannot tolerate free discus- the President, in the chair : sion upon a great question like that of Peace. We had Voted, 1. That Abner Belcher, Wm. Harlow, Wmapposed that abolitionists were contending for liberty Ide, and Wm. Bennett, be our delegates to the State speech on principle, and that they meant something Convention. bey pleased, on one subject. Why then should they Belcher, and Wm. Harlow be our delegates to the themselves in a hostile attitude, and play the part County Convention. of slaveholders and their apologists, merely because the of the subject of peace? Would they not show more ing a preamble and resolutions passed by the Worceswisdom, if, instead of manifesting so much uneasiness ter Co. North Division A. S. Society at its last meeting, and impatience at such discussion, and turning away held at Fitchburg, Jan 3d, 1839. Voted, from it in scorn, they should just take up their pens and 3. That said letter, preamble, and resolutions, be furnish us with their own free thoughts for publication read to this meeting, and presented for consideration. n our columns? Why will they not meet us on the safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it? specting the duty of abolitionists at the polls. Has the Liberator ever been closed against any individnal who wished to refute what he conceived to be its respecting the necessity of a new anti-slavery paper, errors? Has its editor ever shrunk from the probe of and the recommendation to the Board of Managers of an opponent? Is it either manly or christian to stop the Massachusetts A. S. Society, to establish the same. ne's ears in a rage and run away from an argument? Let abolitionists think of it.

alter the word than the facts. If there has been no plot, all this alarm of fire will end in smoke.

DYING AWAY!' It is with much satisfaction that e learn, that the City Authorities have granted the use of Faneuil Hall to the friends of emancipation, on Thursday forenoon, Jan. 24, at 10 c'cleck; and that the Hall of the House of Representatives has been by Rev. Benjamin Ober, in his lecture delivered begranted for the use of the State Society on Thursday vening, Jan. 24. In noticing these meetings, we anicipate the date of our paper.

IT We are glad to find that Mr. Cushing feels a deep will Massachusetts delight to do honor in time to come.

to miscellaneous matter,) we permit the subject of ges of slavery that is sin, and not slavery itself.' assaults are made upon us—by persons, too, professing to be ministers of the Prince of Peace!! For this, the cry is, 'Away with the Liberator! Crucify it!'

other.' 'The great majority of the slaves are reduced cry is, 'Away with the Liberator! Crucify it!'

TOKEN OF RESPECT. SALEM, Jan. 5th, 1839.

At a meeting of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Soiety, held Dec. 29th, 1838, it was voted, that the sum Rev. Timothy Merritt.

S. II. Emery acted as Scribe, till the arrival of \$100 be presented to you. Enclosed is the amount, which you will receive as a token of respect from us, he Secretary.

A committee on business was appointed, consisting of Rev. Messrs Asa Bronson, A. St. Clair, S. Hopkins Emery, E. W. Robinson, Henry C. Coombs, John S. Dill, and Ezra R. Johnson.

distinct and inferior places in the churches, is oppressed and degraded millions in our land, who have wicked in the sight of God, being barbarous in so long grouned beneath the oppressor's yoke. Others, practice, unchristian and proscriptive in princi- we know, have done and are now doing much in this ple; therefore, we will use our influence to destroy glorious cause; but we would remember the time when, the monster, which aims to sap the foundation of with many others, our ears were deaf to the cries of their social and spiritual influence.

The resolution was ably sustained by Mr. John-those who had no helper'—and while enjoying ourselves on, its prover, a colored man from New Bedford. the blessings of civil and religious liberty, forgot that Remarks were also made in its favor by Messrs.

Johnson, Durfee, Emery, Bradford, Carpenter, and others. Adjourned to afternoon.

Afternoon session was opened with prayer by Resolution on prejudice was further discussed being that you stood forth, and boldly asserted the inneglected brethren, fearless of man, in the face of bold Business committee reported the following res- opposition, and, in many instances, at the hazard of olutions, which, after an able discussion on the part of A. St. Clair, Berton, Crandall, Clark, Emglorious cause of emancipation in this country. You ery, &c. were adopted.

Resolved, That we regard the late Atherton gag

Resolved, That we regard polyable violeting of

which it is greeted by the presses generally through who have no hope. The cries of the oppressed have claimed to the captives, and the opening of the prison

strengthened and renewed; and that we pray God one. May you live to see that cause, which you have strengthened and renewed; and that we pray God that his life may yet be spared to see the Bastile so boldly espoused, and so ably vindicated, triumph, and the way prepared for the tentire and peaceful about an organ for the Massachusetts A. S. Society, to be confined to the subject of slavery, to be issued weekly to subscribers, and to be under the entire control of the Board of Managers is your greatly.

HARRIET FOSTER.

Corresponding Secretary.

LETTER FROM J. W. ALDEN.

ficient ground for the alarm manifested in that article rg.
Resolved, That we cordially approve of the -and, second, because if you are alarmed for good and

ourse of the abolition voters in the fourth con-sufficient reasons, it does not alter the fact, that an ably gressional district, in relation to the candidates for conducted paper, which shall take high ground on pocongress; and we recommend them to adhere litical action, is much needed in Massachusetts: nor strictly to their integrity, till the candidates answer their questions in the affirmative.

Resolved, That we have undiminished confidence in the confidenc

when one side of the paper, together with the influence After an excellent address from Mr. St. Clair, on of the editor, is diametrically opposed to such action. the measures of abolitionists, a liberal contribu-tion was made to the funds of the State Society, with those who passed the Worcester County resoluand a large number of individuals were appointed tions, ought not to be driven-as seems to be the design delegates to the annual meeting of the State So- of your article-to discuss the merits or demerits of the Liberator, before another paper can be started; and, so far as I know the feelings of abolitionists in old Middle-(1) It is not to be supposed, that all who voted for sex, there is not the least disposition to discard the Lib

No reason is given why another weekly paper is In the great struggle now going on in district No. 4, we feel, I confess, great need of a paper like the one (2) This wears a friendly aspect; but those who mentioned in the said resolutions, with a much wider opted it know us too well to believe, for a moment, circulation than the Liberator has, or can have; for that we will consent to be placed under the entire you must be aware that abolitionists, here as well as entrol' of any body of men in conducting the Lib- elsewhere, are yet in their infancy on the subject of political action, and need line upon line, and precept upon precept, in regard to their duties on that subject.

Yours truly for the slave,
J. W. ALDEN.

INOTE. Will it be denied that the Liberator has one the cause good service in the fourth District, ingry appetite. But, because we allow a little free been found good soldiers in the contest which is now ty? If, then, the Liberator does execution wherever its influence is felt, why will not the abolitionists of Old Middlesex labor to extend its circulation? Would it LETTER FROM AN AGENT. An agent in one of the not be better economy to increase the subscription list gest villages of this State writes as follows: "Some of a paper already in existence, than to load the Massaading abolitionists in this place are laboring to pre- chusetts A. S. Society with a heavy debt in order to es-

> WRENTHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. At a special meeting of the Wrentham A. S. Society,

ore by free discussion than the liberty of saying what 2. That Edward Bennett, Drayton Blake, Abner

The President then stated, that he had received a Liberator, to a moderate extent, is open to a discussion letter directed to him, from Rev. A. A. Phelps, contain-

4. To dismiss the preamble to said resolutions. ground of free discussion? May not error be 5. That we adopt the first and second resolutions

6. That we reject the third and fourth resolutions

7. Whereas, The Liberator, 'takes right, high, and nsistent ground on this subject, and constantly urges abolitionists, as in duty bound, to use their political, as No PLOT. The only difference, after all, that exists well as their moral and religious power and rights for between us and our clerical correspondents, is respectng the proper name by which to designate their move- worthy our continued confidence, and deprecate all at They dislike the word p'et. It is easier to tempts, whether open or covert, to destroy its influence, or Aiminish its circulation.

8. That those clergymen who advance and maintain the principle, that slavery is not, under all circumstances sinful, sanction and perpetuate this foul aboming tion, and ought not to be heard by the friends of the

9. We consider the following sentiments advanced fore the Lyccum in Aitleborough,' since published, and industriously circulated in this and the neighboring towns, as a specimen of ministerial pro-slavery : 'That southern slavery, taken in the aggregate, is a system of cruelty and oppression, there can be little doubtinterest in the question of abolition, and that while Mr. Webster and others of the Whig party are 'bowing the knee to the dark spirit of slavery' for the rake of think by no means true.' 'In the first place, what the knee to the dark spirit of slavery' for the rake of the body of the state of the property of the sale of the sal southern votes, Mr. C. has taken his stand by the side of the is slavery? It is bondage, the state of entire subjection venerable Adams, as a defender of the Constitution against the encroachments of slaveholding despotism. May be transgression of the law, how can slavery be made sin? prove faithful to the end of the coatest, for to such alone What law is there that forbids one person being in a state of entire subjection to another? But it may be said, that slavery is generally attended with cruelty and Be it remembered, that it is because in one cor. oppression. Very well-this is unrighteons; and as ner of the Liberator, (usually in other papers devoted all unrighteousness is sin, then it must be the oppendascussed, are and cost, the present furious things I say are sin, and ought to be immediately aban-

to the lowest moral degradation: they are lost to all nd obligation; through the abuse of their masters. And now I contend that such men are not FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1839. repared to have their liberty-liberty to such would appear unwise, rash, misdirected, and in some cases, Wednesday. 'I would therefore warn every man within the reach of my voice to 'beware of the doctrine f abolitionists.'

10. That the proceedings of this meeting be forwardd by the secretary for publication in the Liberator.

WM. HARLOW, Sec'y.

Wrentham, Jan. 15th, f839.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH. The following letter from our noble-hearted brother, GERRIT SMITH, to H. B. Stanton, on the subject of the d to us for publication.

Mr. HENRY B. STANTON : My Dear Friend,- As goes the Fourth, so goes the You have lived long enough in the State of New York, to be familiar with the saying of our policians about the Fourth Ward of the city of Albany. Massachusetts also has her ' Fourth,' to which all eyes are now directed :- and oh, that the friends of bleeding umanity in her Fourth Congressional District might e adequately impressed with their vast responsibilities, State only, but a whole nation also, that is to be influnced by their conduct! If that conduct be marked by nvincible fidelity to the slave and the God of the slave, who can compute its blessed effects? If, on the conrary, the abolitionists of the Fourth District, standing, shall, at the last, yield themselves up to the wiles and agency in causing those resolutions, or 'be weary in well Mr. Torrey himself, and knew not that any action was ing'-how loud and how long will be the lament of philanthropy and piety over such deeply disastrous postacy !-- as loud and as long, as the joy with which will inspire s'aveholders and devils. 'From yonder pyramids,' said Napoleon to his soldiers, 'twenty cengramids, said Napoleon to his and uniar sectations in his feelings, and uniar sectations. Let the abolition soldiers, he would not be so hostile to us in his feelings. of the Fourth District be made 'valiant for the truth,' remembrances ten thousand fold more inspiring. With Him, who beholds their actions, 'a thousand which they are engaged hangs, not the fate of a ed millions of their countrymen, and that of the dear dox stamp. ause of human rights throughout the world. What'n great privilege I should esteem it, to be in that District a few days before the first Monday in next Mr. GARRISON :

nonth—the day fixed on for the third battle of truth | Several things in your last paper require comment with falsehood, and of impartial, universal liberty with though the point of some of them would have been slavery! I would especially improve the opportunity blunted, had you found space this week for the com o tell its true-hearted abolitionists, with what intense munication of brother Phelps, and my letter to him nterest their attitude is viewed by the like abolitionists To begin with the letter from Amesbury, which menies bleeding at every pore. Great numbers of 'false my service. I care not who wrote it-publish the prethren, and far greater numbers of unenlightened name if you choose. The sentiment given by the nd misled honest brethren, stabbed it, well nigh to writer as mine, and marked with inverted commas, I death, at the last election. But, we are beginning to never uttered, nor any thing similar to it, either at rally from our defeat. Those, who, on that occasion, Amesbury or any where else. I never alluded to any party and stood by the slave, are confirmed in the truth thought nor heard of any change contemplated by any nd in their valor and self-denial; and many, who one. That I ever mentioned this, or any similar rearoted against the slave, have been brought to see their son, why the Amesbury Society should be fully repreerror and to repent of it. Nevertheless, we are not yet sented, is a gratuitous falsehood-either the fruit of out of the reach of discouragement. And it will most pure malice, inattention to what I did say, or of the assuredly overtake some of us, if our bright hopes of same suspicious, jealous temper, so plainly shown in the success-or, at least, of the perseverance of the your editorials on this subject. The reasons I urged, not speak considerately, when I say, that such persever-

re not members of Anti-Slavery Societies, allow them- the Amesbury slanderer was, I should have taken elves to be convinced by the simple and conclusive measures to meet his falsehood then. The other letter rguments that forbid their voting for slavery? They from Amesbury is merely an echo of the false stateall agree, that it is not proper to talk or write or pray for slavery : and will they not all agree, that, what it me, further than to request canaid men to read it with is not proper to talk and write and pray for, it is not their own eyes, and not yours. By the way, I never proper to vote for? Surely no one will pretend, that gave the recent falling off of your subscribers here, or the Bible furnishes us with one set of rules to direct in this vicinity, as a reason why your paper was insufus in some exercises, and another and an opposite set ficient to give notices of our meetings, but as a reason to direct us in other exercises. Again, would not all why we needed a new one. The limited circulation of the voters in the fourth District agree, that it is wrong it, and the almost entire rejection of it in some very o vote for a burglar or a horse-thief, or for any peron, who countenances burglary or horse-stealing? Certainly they would. Why is it then, that any of dent, if he ever heard me speak on the subject at all, them can consent to vote for a slaveholder, or for one used his ears very carelessly. who countenances slaveholding? Is it because slaveholding is a less heinous crime than burglary or horsestealing? Let them settle the question of the compartive criminality of these offences by the neglected. but not the less Christ-directed, self-application mode of reasoning. Let each one of them put the simple question to his own heart, whether he would rather he tolen himself and be reduced to a slave, than have I now regret that instead of such a circular, I had not his house or stable robbed. Alas, the power of a wrong gone at length into the argument, not only recommendeducation! We have grown up in the midst of apologies for slaveholding and under the influence of the ing their adoption, but enforcing it by the many reapraises of the chivalry and high-mindedness of slavenolders ;-and, on the contrary, we have, from our infancy, been taught to abhor and despise and attempt o punish every other thief-even the wretched man whose hunger impels him to steal a loaf of bread.

But, it is, perhaps said, that Mr. Parmenter and Mr. Brooks are abolitionists. If they are in favor of abolshing all the law, which create or make or uphold lavery, and of breaking every yoke of slavery, then hey are abolitionists. Otherwise, they are not. If, tike Gov. Marcy and Gov. Seward of this State, they graph in relation to the first part of the Appeal, and that are in favor of any of the laws, which create the relathey may be opposed to other laws of this character, hey are obviously pro-slavery men, and not abolitionsts. These distinguished gentlemen of the State of New-York, advocate the law, which creates the relation of slaveholder and slave. But, surely, they are not to be acquitted of the charge of being pro-slavery, because they ground their advocacy of the law on their trong sense and iar reaching perceptions of the claims of hespitality, and not on their love of slavery. No ess pro-slavery than Gov. Marcy and Gov. Seward are Mr. Parmenter and Mr. Brooks, provided they do, for justly, in many respects, I have always believed and any reasons whatever, approve of that legislation of slave was sanctioned and perpetuated in the District brow with blushes, if they were exposed. And the less

I see that Mr. Brooks does not answer the interroworld; and he, who does not, whether asked or unaskd. speak out against it, ought to be set down as for it. Your friend and brother,

GERRIT SMITH.

last sickness, which is unto DEATH. for many excellent qualities, but there was one thing which he had entirely overlooked; and that was, that the South will say is true and deserved. Your ground of objecobject, and virtue enough to see through the flattery to its

tion to my statement at the time, was drawn solely from

bject, and virtue enough to look upon the flatterer with the

* It came from our own pen.—Ed. Lib.

ROSTON.

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ot be a blessing.' 'I hesitate not to say, that the ablitionists are wrong in principle.' 'I have now some paper to press one day, in order that all the delegate hings to say in regard to their measures. And here I might be supplied with copies of it, we cannot, of would say, that I consider their measures as bad, and course, give any account of the proceedings of the anworse, if possible, than their principles. To me they nual meeting of the Society, which commenced on

In laying the following letter before our readers, we have not the time, (being busily occupied upon the Annual Report,) if we had the inclination, to make any extended comments upon it. Of the taste, temper and style in which it is drawn up, they are competent to judge. Having unmasked this insidious and restless disturber of the harmony that has reigned in the anti-slavery ranks-having condemned him, out of his own mouth, as one who cheered on the authors of the nending election in the Fourth District, has been hand Clerical Appeal, in their traitorous attempts to lower the abolition standard, and to transfer the management of our cause into the hands of its enemies he pours out the full tide of his priestly bile upon us. What he says about that Appeal, and his approbation of it, is mere 'special pleading.' He only approved of the first part,' forsooth! This first part was the only part which the signers of that document ever wrote-(i subsequent essays were merely personalities;) and it contained the worst heresies and the basest accusations -all which gave 'unmingled satisfaction' to his secta rian spirit, if his own letter to Mr. Fitch be any eviat this crisis! Oh that they might feel, that it is not a dence in the case. If that letter was ' garbled' by Mr. be made impediately in the Spectator? All his iesnitism will not be able to cover up his treasonable conduct, at that perilous crisis. He slandcrously alludes to the resolutions we pro-

cured to be passed in Providence and elsewhere. This agency in causing those resolutions to be passed, than contemplated, until the proceedings were sent to us for publication. 'A brassy brow' ought to blush in making such a groundless charge.

His accusation, that we are 'one of the most bigoted and unfair sectarians in the land,' cannot be true, else

He cannot undertake to judge the heart of Hubbard Winslow, that 'able, faithful, humble and pious minister of the gospel'-not he! But he can easily deterrears are as one day;' and or the issue of the contest mine the state of our own. The reason is, that the military chieftain, but that of the enslaved and outragone refuses to bow his neck to priestly domination.

SALEM, Jan. 18th, 1839. this State. Amongst us, the cause of human rights tions my name. You say the name of the writer is at countered reproaches, and crucified themselves to change in the Board of Managers, because I had never nce would be worth more to the cause of human portance of the occasion, and the interests of the cause ghts, than would be the contribution of tens of thou required a full attendance. I recommended to all the ands of dollars to the treasuries of our Anti-Slavery Societies to send, not the young, but the old and tried friends of the cause-the best men the Societies could But will not thousands in the fourth District, who furnish. Had your co-editor allowed me to know who ments in your last paper, and requires no notice from important towns, I have also given as a reason wh

> The letter from Lynn is a misrepresentation, as the commended 'that votes be passed in support of the resolutions, or that delegates be appointed to the annual meeting, with instructions to act accordingly there. vote be regarded as the instructions of the delegates. sons which exist for such a course. But I acted according to my judgment at that time. Your reference to the 'Clerical Appeal,' shows your

> want of ingenuousness of character very plainly, (if,

indeed, you wrote the second article, as I suspect from the style, it came from the pen of Mr. Johnson.*) I have a few remarks to make upon it. The Clerical Appeal, as a whole, I always condemned, in all places and at all times. After the first part was issued, I wrote to Rev. Mr. Fitch, a letter of recommendation ation of slaveholder and slave, then, however much of the Appeal, (which you ascribe to me,) is or is not the same I wrote, is a question of fact. I did at the time, privately and publicly declare my conviction that it was garbled; inasmuch as it did not express my views on the matter, as I did not regard the 'Appeal, or even the first part of it, with 'unmingled satis faction,' though the justness of some of its allegations you never successfully denied, in my opinion. That you and Mr. Johnson and others, did abuse Messrs. Fitch and Towne, as well as censure them affirmed. Sir, you know there are some things in recongress, by which the relation of slaveholder and

gations put to him by the abolitionists. He, perhaps, other time, I have even for a moment failed to labor fatters himself that his silence ought to shelter him with constant zeal in the cause of the oppressed, or flatters himself that his science ought to sacret aim from the suspicion of being a pro-slavery man and in favor of pro-slavery laws. It surely ought not. At a will need no refutation with those who know me. I will need no refutation with those who know me. I time, when more than nineteen-twentieths of our titled divines are pro-slavery men, and in favor of pro-slavery laws, the fair and irresistible presumption, in the very laws, the fair and irresistible presumption, in the case of the silent candidate for Congress, is that he is a pro-slavery man, and in favor of pro-slavery man, and in favor of pro-slavery modesty would have prevented me from stating facts, a pro-slavery man, and in favor of pro-slavery laws. which might show that I have received as many wounds in the face, and as few in the back, as yourself. But of what moment would this be to the public, in either

In respect to the quotation of a portion of my remarks respecting Mr. Winslow, at the last annual REVIEW OF WAYLAND. Our anti-slavery metaphysi- meeting, I have only to remark two things. (1) I have ian, WILLIAM GOODELL, has commenced in the Friend always thought them very imperfectly reported, (in the of Man a Review of President Wayland's Limitations of annual report from which you quote,) so incorrectly Human Responsibility. The work could not have fallen as to make them express far more than I said. But I in to the hands of one better qualified to do it justice. The pro-slavery Doctor will get sick himself, before he succeed in healing the wounds of the institution for whose special benefit his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for taking care of the monster in his late work was prepared to the monster in his late work was prepared to the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor will be sure of his free for the monster in his late work was prepared. But, as friend Roger says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the Doctor says, (and he being a lawyer ought to know,) the lawyer ought to know, the lawyer ought to know, the unless it appeared that he was wilful in it, i. e. saw the Appropos-A southern woman, after reading Dr. Way- character of the odious doctrine, and loved its wickedland's fulsome panegyric of the South, in his chapter on the slavery question, remarked that he had given them credit of Mr. Winslow's character, which every reasonable

rians in our land; striving both openly o identify the anti-slavery cause (who riews of every sect, and therefore egree. You are taking advantage an abolitionist, to promote your views; a base deed, of which no ae. And as to faithfulness to the cause, I be o say, that the past two years I have ctured more, and contributed more to ourself. If the standard of faithfulne to be love to your sectarian notions. Huded to, you are the unfaithful man to i aman rights, not I, who repudiate such bleeding humanity. The other allegation icles, have been met before; and you con ished our piece, and would have done have answered it, so as to promote your Sir, is the hour of publication never an you say this matter was not impo cause delay, when your character for and you had in your possession on Wei an article over the names of two men. truth of your previous allegations, and hings you have said and repeated this the man who would not publish Wa. G. emnation of himself in the Clerical Appear ersy, could not be expected to insert a re his own calumnies, before the annual meet until their malice had time to produce its effer inwary minds.

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Yours for the slave and for fruit. CHARLES T. TORR

MORE SELF-VINDICATION. We feel as much reluctance to comment Howing letter, as we have done in regard to Mr ey's. Such letters carry their own and hem. But we are compelled to make a running ment on one or two points.

It is not literally, but substantially true if Fitchburg resolutions were concocted by the nen residing in Essex County-viz. Alanson S and Charles T. Torrey. This is not denied. Clair says that the 'first draft' of thesess was made by him in Lynn, and sent to Mr. To is emendation. We have thus ascertained the eason ' directly to our office. True, the man was accidentally found on our table, and is with pr

but Mr. St. Clair does not pretend, (though he fain leave the impression,) that he left it pun as: it was left unintentionally, we have no else why did he not put it into our hands! We present all the time in the office, but he made on to the subject whatever. If he meant to with us, why did he silently drop it, and retire half of the resolution asserting the necessity of shing a new weekly journal, is in his hand w and the other half in that of Mr. Torrey. On the of the manuscript is pencilled the following no

Good. I think, now, such resolutions she en presented at the Essex C CHARLES T. TO A word only as to the monthly periodical. Ar

another column, its sole design was, I ?" to very pretext for starting another anti-sl. Ve learn with surprise, that Mr. St. Clair, at eting of the Bristol Co. A. S. Society, gave t ppression, that we were in favor of the proje so strenuously advocated! As to the incifour course, it yet remains to be shown. BR. GARRISON:

In the last number of your paper is an article WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?' which of eral statements that are natrue.

1st. You affirm, there is a deep scheme laid viduals, at present somewhat conspicuous as lavery movements in this Commonwealth is 'This scheme,' you assert, 'is of cle gin,' and in your subsequent remarks connectith it. Now I aver, before heaven and earth now nothing of any such scheme, and that, so he am concerned, the charge is just as false as it see and wicked.

2d. The shape in which this new project a told adopted at the recent meeting of the W North Division A. S. Society at Fitchburg esolutions were concocted in Essex Co. by abors of two clergymen.' This statemen titute of truth. All the merit or dewerit of con hose resolutions belongs exclusively to mys whether I was a participant in the infan Appeal' conspiracy, the abolitionists, who a he county, state, and the American anti-si ngs, while that matter was before the abo nay possibly have some little knowledge, and on knows the contrary better than the editor Liberator. Those resolutions were written and brought before the Worcester Co. A.S. San it the request of the President of that society, wh not a clergyman, but a friend of yours, and a c abscriber and reader of your paper. No mo aw them till they were carried by me before ! ess committee of that meeting, except Br. St who most cordially approved them, and suggesti

word of amendment. What has probably given rise to your hich you have published as truth, is b eft Lynn for Fitchburg, the first draft conti part, and an imperfect copy of those resolutions sent by me to Mr. Torrey of Salem, that he mi mine them, and suggest any amendan were sent back on the fo'clock train of ears arried me to Boston, handed me at the Dept and carried directly to the Liberator of est. I never read them after they were s out wrote another draft, which I prefe lever saw, which was adopted at Fitchburg ished in your paper. How much secrewas, may be gathered from the fact, that neocted treason directly to Boston, and left h

34. 'This scheme, of course, is of cle nd the prominent ringleaders fill the What do you mean by this scheme? ment of a paper, to be the organ of the M. A. S. Society? This is the only one I have edge of. If so, the statement is not cheme has been recommended to me year, by a great number of laymen, of parties, in almost every town I have ve husetts. Nor did I ever assent to emand was great. Are Dr. Farnsw his scheme before Oliver Johnson me T. Everett, John E Fuller, Henry B. State lotters?

4th. 'The political necessity which is nother paper is ridiculous enough; and nothing but a hollow pretence. ill human governments are of the devi ction with them sinful? For maj the abolitionists generally do not. They ical action not only innocent, but necess slavery; and that without this, it canno except by the judgments of Heaven. You are week advancing the doctrine, that vo on with human governments is vote? You have said you cannot. another to do what you believe to be si know the advice 'is nothing but a boll To urge the abolitionists on one side of go to the polls, and vote for true men, and h

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de, all such action is sinful, 'as ridica-If you caunot, consistently with confor political action, and urge it on the abohen a paper which can do this is indispensaled such a measure is necessary to abolish If you can and will do this, make the Liberigan of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, and the objects of that society, I will be the propose any other. But if not, while I am a agent, to pursue such a course, I shall paper that will aid me. And as to the on being 'a hollow pretence,' I shall y to appeal from your imperial decision. now, that, on my part, this 'is a hol-If this statement be true, there is not r financial agent in this Commonwealth, famous, together with the late general Stanton, who has just been appointed to fee; for they all entertain the same views blect as myself. Why then do you not against us, before the Board of Manaiss us from our agency with disgrace? member of that Board, to whom we are Ordid you think it would be necessary ne us, till you had covered us with rened our character with your readers, in their approbation of a final sentence? er, that this statement of yours is total-

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ARLES T. TO

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on Wednesday A. M.

not, a few days since, bring before the Managers, a proposition for a new paper, to y a Committee of the Board? Why did no such paper is wanted? Have you sut plotter'? Is 'the Liberator too For you is denounce others for de paper, at the same time you propose the demn, is not only "ridiculous," but disigh. If you believe no such thing is wantwhat a hollow pretence" to propose it en it is not merely 'noth it is wanted, the at a hollow pretence,' but base and treacherous alumniate others for proposing it. You which horn of the dilemma best suits your

motation you have made from the letter good to Prof. Emerson, to explain the mo abolitionists who desire a new paper, is rical and dishonest. It was done merely You know I have always opposed the spirit hat recommends. You know I have uniarded and spoken of it with disapprobation. therefore, to palm it upon me, evinces pronounce the whole you have said in relative to myself, sheer calumny and misn-an unprovoked and vile attack on one and to regard as a friend-one too, who, you shunned no labor, pains or reproach to deagainst the assaults and machinations of oth-But more on this subject hereafter.

A. ST. CLAIR.

THE PLOT! PLOT!! PLOT!!! (1)

Time has been, when the Liberator has been day, for weeks in succession; and not unv (2) has there been a delay of even two days, It does not appear, therefore, that ar naper, would have lost your character for whave published the replies sent you, last Mr. Torrey, Mr. St. Clair, and myself. They rt, as it will be seen. (4.) Mr. Torrey's lette you the first thing on Wednesday morning. unpanying remarks by the middle of the and your paper does not go to press reg Thursday morning. If any delay then had been necessary, it could not have exthan to Friday morning. (6) If, howeva is, that the paper was full, and that the type, then why not leave it out? (7) Is thing for you to leave out matter prepared el's paper, and insert it in the paper for the sek! Or would you, in that case, have been to emit, in part, your second edition of rumor (8) And what then? Did not jus smand that the impeached (9) should have a and if both could not be done at the same they should have it, before the annual meet (i) and before a second edition of calumnies had

this, however, pass. I now send you the com ons again. They are in their original form. be exceeded of a remark or two interlined, in resome things said by you last week, and some ad il statements of fact, which my time, and the miking the communication too long for inser nots will be obvious to the reader. The comon began as follows :--

myself not a little surprised by your al of last week. 'Internal contrivers of sidions plotters within the camp'!hoen '!- 'prominent ringleaders ! !- 'ulpures !- 'plot wardy managed !!- 'ram-· hollow pretence ' !- ' honesty in thi ight not, peradventure, prove the best policy '! nations of a clerical combination '!- 'billing og between gentlemen of the sacerdotal robe And all this is charged on somebody-but article does not say. It seems to have been, evenient to stab in the dark, (11) and by Hearn, however, from other sources, (12) of the conspirators, Mr. Torry of Salem Mr. St Clair another, Mr. Stanton another, the end of the catalogue. And this is my miry- Why this disclaimer? We True, you called no names in your t whisperings about the city, you and (f3) And now whether we are all d, on masse, and without trial, judge, even benefit of clergy, doth not yet appear. It m, however, if your article is any criterion cut, that, 'in the tempest and whirlwind of on,' the spirit is willing, though the flesh weak. But be this as it may, one thing is cerou have, in this instance at least, spoken unand hastily. This will be evident from the

ing that Mr. Torrey had corresponded, to a table extent, with individuals of his acquaintrespect to the proposed paper, but not knowing had written, or to what classes of persons, I m soon after the appearance of your article, a inquiry on the subject, to which he has sent

Sates, Jan. 12th, 1839.

es are weighty, and I will answer them

ossible...
aut been select in my correspondence, exmy circle of acquaintance, and other duof of necessity. Orthodox men, Unitarialists, war-men, and peace-men have been amber addressed—among my person-l have written to ministers, lawyers, ers, politicians, and men of no pro-tor no principle, except on the sub-and perhaps Temperance: wherever address I did not know from other written to five or six; old standards? then to five or six told standards whom I had no acquaintance see only have I written to a man instance only, have I received an un-and that was from a non-resistance and of no opposition, which did not arise sentations emanating from Buston, just tries in this week's Liberator.

re of the devil, and all of do not. They believe po minimated, in correspondence with any uses of any kind, the idea of any and of Managers. I never heard of but from one who is a 'woman's his mind, it was evidently a crude a few moneysts' corrected. this, it cannot be over this, it cannot be of Heaven. You are strine, that voluntary on ments is sinful. Can you so cannot. Can you so cannot. Can you so cannot. momenta' conversation, the Neither before, nor since that a syllabte on the subject, in any believe to be sinful? It on one side of your paid or frue men, said to tell

who would fear a change, beyond a doubt. It is a formore than fear individuals on the subject—two of falsehood equally footish and wicked, which will treduce the false when the dound to the shame of its inventors and propagators.

3. My correspondence with reference to the topics embraged in your inquiries, has related, exclusively, to the new paper, and the reasons why it should be established. The limited circulation of the Liberator to subscribers, compared with the number and wants of Abolitonists, the fact that the causes of the limitation of its subscription would still continue, and that, on that account, a majority of Abolitionists who needed a paper, would not take it, has been adverted to in a vestical to the proposed paper, to persons whose opinions I did not know, and to those whom I either knew, or had every reason to suppose, would oppose the measure. To all of them I stated the fact, as I had it from Mr. paper, would not take it, has been adverted to in a ve. St. Clair, that the resolutions were brought up by the yfew, say half a dozen letters, and as many more conversations. The design of injuring the Liberator, I have seldom taken the trouble to disclaim, because no man has had the meanness to charge me with it. I have occasionally answered the objection to a new dividual (and in some cases I said) a non-resistant from this city; and that the measure proposed had my my conviction that it would not have that effect; but at all events, the good of the cause imperatively descended to the convenience of the business committee, were advecated by him, Mr. Colver, Dea. Everett and others, and passed with but one dissent, and he an information that it would not have that effect; but at all events, the good of the cause imperatively descended to the convenience of the business committee, were nadvecated by him, Mr. Colver, Dea. Everett and others, and passed with but one dissent, and he an information that it would not have that effect; but at all events, the good of the cause imperatively descended to the business committee, were nadvecated by him, Mr. Colver, Dea. Everett and others, and passed with but one dissent, and he an information that it would not have that effect; but at all events, the good of the cause imperatively descended to the business committee, were nadvecated by him, Mr. Colver, Dea. Everett and others, and passed with but one dissent, and he an information that the resolutions were brought up to the unanimous consent of the business committee, were nadvecated by him, Mr. Colver, Dea. Everett and others, and passed with but one dissent, and the submitted with the provided provided the passed with but one dissent, and the resolutions were brought and the passed with but one dissent, and the resolutions were brought and the passed with but one dissent, a

writing, the week of the Fitchburg meeting, but not he same passed at the meeting. In those I saw, I by a full delegation at the annual meeting. by a full delegation at the annual meeting.

I have made these statements, in the hope that they may correct, in advance, some misapprehensions. Let

In haste, yours for the slave, CHAS. T. TORREY.

burg, and had therefore nothing whatever to do with them as his constituency. (25) their passage-that they have, however, my full apobation, and that the measure they propose will have ny hearty support at the annual meeting-that I (1) If exclamation points can disprove a plot, the atstated to you, in a Board meeting, some weeks since, tempt in this instance is perfectly successful, when the inquiry came up, on a proposition of your own, (2) A mistake. o establish, on your own responsibility, a monthly paper which should be exclusively anti-slavery, but designed which is supposed to be equal to an argument. It is dation, and not by individual subscribers, that I knew delivered of a sneer. ere was a demand for a new anti-slavery paper in (4) It will be seen that this is not so. is State, (14) but that the demand would not be met is the fact in every other state where a State Society facit.' as is the left in every other state where it state expensible representative,
and one which shall also meet the wants of our cause,
and what we could not, have done, much better than

has ever entered the mind of a solitary individual, week. en leaf shall chase them! (17)

rish now to add the following: 1. That I made the statement in regard to a paper. above alluded to, in Board Meeting, as long ago as Dec. 14th; and was 'voluntary' in it too, your assertion to the contrary notwithstanding. What were the facts in the case ? I did not introduce the subject, it is true, to the attention of the Board on that occasion or was there any need of my doing so, in order to in orm you or your special friends on the Board of the act, that a new paper was desired, and that unless he Liberator could be so changed as to meet the wants of the cause in the State, measures would be taken to start one. For of this fact, I knew that you were al eady informed, personally, or through your assistant editor, weeks before, by Dr. Farnsworth of Groton (18) So far back as the middle of November, Dr. F. called at the Anti-Slavery Rooms, to see what should be done in reference to the then next election in Middlesex District. In the course of conversation, he, of his own accord, said we needed a new anti-slavery paper, o which, without any hesitation, I responded. He aid also he should go and see you or Johnson, and talk with you on the subject. And I afterwards learneferred to? I did this, gave my views, and, so far as derful 'demand,' truly !! onceal my views from you or the Board, I should feel it to be their duty to mingle in political action, not

n your part, on which you wished, not the opinion of that it did not suit the purposes of our mischief-makers adividuals then present. Had I, under these circum- this monthly sheet, to take away all pretence for ances, been disposed to keep dark, how easy to have another periodical. ed giving an opinion one way or the other. But (17) Bro. Scott calls us 'lion hearted.' We are not lid I do it? No-I stated my views, and, so far as I apt to be terrified. knew them, the views of others fully, frankly, une(13) The Dr. is of age, and can speak for himself.

We are very confident that this attempt to quote him from you, in return for my frankness, was the mean as authority, in the present controversy, is not war-and dastardly fling, that such a paper would under-ranted by the facts in the case. mine the Liberator, and that it looked like doing that (19) With some perceptible agitation, and only in a covertly, which men were afraid to do openly! At very few words. We cannot recal what we said in rethe same time, I also stated, in substance, that if the ply; but that there as any thing 'mean' or 'dastard-Liberator could be made wholly anti-slavery, and ly' in our language, we are sure cannot be true. Our would urge political action as a duty, and be edited like bro. P. has evidently lost his temper. ther organs under the direction of the Board, I, for (20) We meant by the word 'voluntary,' nothing me, should be willing to make it the organ of the Sommore than that Mr. P. did not introduce to the Board, ely. And now to say that in thus expressing my at that or any preceding meeting, the subject of a new

ments, I have no recollection of having written a soli-mind, to transform the statement of an undeniable fact tary word to a solitary individual hving, on the sub-into base slander? ject; nor had I gone out of my way, and taken any special pains to ascertain or to influence the views of individuals on the subject, by conversation. And subsequent to that, and up to Jan. 10, when the Fitch-hurg resolutions were sent out. (but not one of them (23) We certainly have no humility to boast of. is to me, suggest any other change, and of members from towns around Bost-Lynn, as the most distant. The whole observable hold, got up for party effect, by those

who would fear a change, beyond a doubt. It is a to more than four individuals on the subject-two of per, would not take it, has been adverted to in a ve. St. Clair, that the resolutions were brought up by the their influence accordingly. Those whose opinions I anded an official, weekly paper, purely anti-slavery their influence accordingly. Those whose opinions I and nothing else: and one, moreover, which would did not know, and those who I supposed might be unfriendly, I requested to lay the resolutions before their he subject.

4. I saw some resolutions in Mr. St. Clair's hand-let that decision, whatever it might be, he represented

temputed by them was the same as it those passed in may correct, in advance, some misapprehensions. Let reference to a new paper. Who concocted them I know not—nor where it was done. But I approve of them with all my heart. Our Salem Society, last think, speak, and correspond on this or any other sub-night, passed a vote of approval, unanimously, after full discussion. And in communicating that vote to the Board, as I was directed. I have sent also a full statement, of which this is but a sketch. It is a very good evidence of the goodness of our project, that the first movement of opposition should be an attempt to plotting sedition against the cause, on this account, I can only say it is just what might be expected from one, whose over-grown self-conceit (23) had wrought To these statements of Mr. Torrey, I have to add, in him into the belief, that his mighty self was abolition spect to myself-that I never saw the Fitchburg res- incarnate; and from one who claims to speak for and lations, till after they were passed and sent to the represent abolitionists, yea, the entire anti-slavery aberafor-that I was not at the meeting at Fitch- movement, (24) and yet refuses to be responsible to

> Yours, &c., A. A. PHELPS. NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

(3) An amiable touch of the sarcastic-a thrust

be taken in bundles, for general and gratuitous cir- sometimes a great relief to an individual to be safely (5) Bro. Phelps has no one to blame but himself. by any paper which was not published weekly, and was He had the Liberator six days in his possession, withheap, exclusively anti-slavery, designed for subscribers out communicating a single word to us on the subject, well as gratuitous circulation, the advocate of politi- either orally or by letter; and without sending us an al action as a duty, and the organ of the society, (15) intimation, directly or indirectly, that he intended to
-thus putting you, and the Board in full possession of make a reply. At the eleventh hour, when our inner all my views and wishes on the subject, and, so far as form was crowded to overflowing, and we had neither I knew them, of the views and wishes of others. And type nor time to comply with his request, he brought us my statements seem, for the most part, to have com- his communications for an insertion in the Liberator; ended themselves to the Board; for I find that at sub- and because we did not do what it was not in our pow sequent meetings of the Board, from which on account of absence from the city and other engagements I was to deal fairly by him!—We say the insinuation is sarily absent, the Board itself took up the subject, mean; for when have we ever, in the course of our anreferred it to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Quiney, ti-slavery warfare, refused any man, on any side, a Garrison, and myself, and that on the report of that combearing in our columns? If there be any one trait aittee brought in before my return to the city, recom- that has characterised us more than another, even our ending the measure, actually voted to issue 3,000 cop bitterest enemies being judges, it is that of perfect fairs of a specimen number of a new anti-slavery paper, to ness towards our opponents. We did the best thing be the organ of the society, and having all the other char- we could, under the circumstances. We told bro. P. cteristics I had named, except being issued monthly that if he would draw up a synopsis of what was con-(6) instead of weekly. And as the Board have never re- tained in his and Mr. Torrey's disclaimers, we would inded that vote, permit me to say, I do not exactly un-insert it as an editorial article; and in our next would erstand on what authority that committee have neg- publish them entire. He did so, and we published it. eted to do their duty, and taken the responsibility of We repeat-after allowing six days to pass without inefusing to issue the specimen number ordered by the forming us of his intention, (and surely it did not re-Board. [To day (Monday, Jan. 19) when it was too quire half that time to concoct a reply-it was probasue it, the committee did indeed refer it to the bly an after thought,) he has no right to complain of econsideration of the Board, and it was reconsidered.] us: in so doing, he acts not only ungenerously but will only add-that in desiring a new paper of abusively. Besides, what special claim he had to be e kind described, I have no wish nor design to injure heard, to the utter confusion of our weekly arrangehe Liberator. That is no object with me in the thing. ments, and the delay of our paper some twenty-four or For, however I may dislike the Liberator, I wish it to forty-eight hours, is not so apparent. We called no name of fall on its own merits. My only object in seek names. He has chosen to put on the coat; and we ig a new paper is to give the abolitionism of this state, can only repeat the old Latin adage-'Qui capit, ille

by maintaining and enforcing, as a matter of duty, the ourselves. We assure him, once for all, that we know round on which we originally started-viz. that there our own business best, and at what time it is indispenre the highest obligations resting on the people of this sable, under our new arrangements, that the Liberator land to abolish slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States.' press-work; it is done at another office; and, conse-I will only add, that your statements and charges in | quently, we have no control over the press on which espect to a change in the Board of Managers are, so our paper is printed. He says that the delay 'could ar as I am concerned, utterly groundless. Nor do I be- not have extended further than to Friday morning. we that the idea of such a change as you mention We aver that it would have extended to the ensuing

All this, you might have known before hand, had you (7) By a glance at our last number, it will be seen that aken the trouble, as we met from time to time, to our inside form was mainly occupied with political armake a solitary inquiry of me in respect to the mat- ticles, respecting the approaching election in the Fourth ter. As you have not seen fit to do so, I can only say, District. These we could not leave out, because we that you seem, in this case, to have run before you had promised their insertion, and one thousand copies ere sent, and to have afforded a practical illustration of them as an extra to be circulated in that District, of the declaration of inspiration-'The sound of a shak- had been spoken for. Our type too, run short, in consequence of our having a large amount of matter set To these statements and remarks of last week, I up over and above what we could find room for last week. We should not be so explicit upon this point, were it not for bro. P's unmanly insinuations.

(8) We shall claim the right to the use of our own amns, whenever we have any thing important to mmunicate to the friends of our cause.

(9) In the article to which Messrs. Torrey and Phelps ake this rejoinder, we called no names; but forthwith they applied our remarks to themselves. 'The inpeached'! Verily, 'instinct is a great matter.'

(10) Our present number will be printed on Wednesday morning, on purpose to let all the delegates have copies of it before any action is taken about a new (11) It is certain we did not strike at random. No

less than three clergymen declare themselves to be wounded! Surely, there must have been some skill in dealing so successful a blow!

(12) We cannot, in our editorial capacity, be responble for what may emanate from other sources

(13) We keep no runners. (14) This was extorted, not voluntary information. No evidence was, adduced or referred to, to show that d that he did see Mr. Johnson. Whether he saw you, there was any such demand; not a single anti-slavery I do not know. What, then, if I did not introduce the society in the Commonwealth, up to that time, had subject to the attention of the Board, on the occasion made any movement toward such an object. A won-

I knew them, the views of others on the subject, the very first time the question came up in any form be- no organ of any such society, has any right to assume fore us. And in this case, be it remembered, it was that it is the duty of abolitionists to go to the polls. That is a question about which there are various opinject was submitted to the Board for their decision, and no vote called for, by which, had I been disposed to that they can lawfully do is, to call upon those who

have been compelled to decline voting, or take the one to prove recreant to their principles at the ballot box. ide or the other. It was simply an informal inquiry (16) A most important 'exception' !-so important e Board as such, but the individual opinion of the at all! It was the design of the Board, in proposing

ions on that occasion, I was not voluntary, is base paper, either monthly or weekly; though he knew, (as be affirms) that there was a general demand for such Up to D.c. 14, when I made these state- a paper. How easy it is, in an excited state of the

ect; nor had I gone out of my way, and taken any (21) This is ad captandem. The 'right' is not dis-

despises and contems both. In a more dispassionate women addressed that body, greatly to its edificastate of mind, he may think differently.

RATOR.

(21) Our claim grows out of the fact, that the 'en. ire anti slavery movement' has been fostered by us, with all fidelity, from its origin to the present time. (25) It is very galling to some persons, that we will

of allow ourselves to be trammelfed by any body of men. But we never can consent to it, even to escape

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHU-

SOUTH SCITUATE, Jan: 10, 1839. Dear Brethren,-It can no longer be concealed that there are divisions among us. The force of our action is already impaired by them. My heart's desire and prayer is, that we may be again as harmoniously and heartily engaged, as we once were, in the cause of impartial liberty. To see those, who have been pursuing with one mind so glorious an object, now falling out by the way is a sight. which can give pleasure only to the enemies of God and humanity. The most heavenly feature on the face of the

Anti Slavery-Society was the brotherly love,

which beamed from it every where. Many, who had been before natually estranged by their sectarian peculiarities, had come to know and love one another, as fellow-laborers in the cause of righteousness. It seemed as if abolitionists had ceased from Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and other human masters, and had enlisted under Christ alone for the overthrow of one of the strongest holds of Satan upon earth. This was one of the secrets of our strength-one of the causes of our signal success. By this were many persuaded that there was a vital principle at the bottom of our enterprise. For every manifestation of genuine love, of unfeigned philanthropy, which is seen to obliterate party predilections, sectarian prejudices, and even the considerations of self-interest, awakens confidence and hope in the heart of humanity. which is always yearning after something far better than sectarianism, or state policy will ever effect. 'See how the abolitionists love one another, though of all sects in religion, and all parties in politics,- 'See how they love one another,' was every where said, or secretly whispered. 'These men must have embraced a principle more truly evangelical-they must be animated by a purpose more comprehensive and humane, than is proposed by any denomination of Christians, or any political party.' Such was the persuasion flashed into hearts of thousands by that brotherly love, which formerly abounded among those who espoused the cause of the slave. My own soul, I gratefully onfess, has been filled with a joy it never knew before, by the free course, the open communion it has had for the last seven years with fellow Christians of almost every name. The capacity of my heart has enlarged, the eye of my mind has strengthened. I have been enabled to discover much truth where I once supposed all was error. I have been led to understand, better than before, the opinions of others, and to discover in the distinctive doctrines of each of the sects, some ideas that are too little regarded by those who differ from

Such have been some of the effects produced by our brotherly love. They are effects at which perhaps sectarians and politicians may take alarm; but Christians, the dear children of God, willever rejoice. It grieves me, therefore, to see the change that has come over us in this respect. And I cannot withhold my hand from the attempt to avert it if I may. Consider then, I pray you, brethren, what is the root of that bitterness which has sprung up to trouble us. Or rather I would ask you to consider the occasions of the disturbance in our ranks. There are, it is well known, certain articles that have appeared in the Liberator, upon the principles of non-resistance, the rights of woman, &c. But, have these subjects been foisted in? Have they not all come in incidentally, and some of them unavoidably? True, the Liberator was established for the avowed purpose of effecting the ab olition of slavery. That is still its avowed purpose, and because that is its purpose, it claims the support of abolitionists. And no one will allege that the Editor has not been vigilant, faithful, and abundantly able. But in the prosecution of the anti-slavery cause, many things have come up for consideration, which were not thought of in the beginning. For the introduction of some of these atters into the Liberator, Mr. Garrison is blamed or rather I should say the opinions he has expressed upon them, have given offence, so that some insist another paper must be established.

The censures cast upon the churches and minisers have disturbed the feelings of many. I myself do not think all that has been said justifiable. But I submit, whether, in the revelations of the moral estate of our country, made by the apostles of Temperance, as well as Anti-Slavery, any fact has ever been more fully brought to light, than the acquiescence of our churches and ministers in the sins, which those apostles came forward to rebuke? Then, I ask again, how can any reformation be begun; or carried on, without the exposure of the sinners to be reformed, and the condemnation of those who uphold or countenance them? Very early in the anti-slavery enterprise it was perceived, that the churches and ministers in the Southern States were verily guilty concerning their brethren in bondage, in that they saw the anguish of their souls, and would not hear them. It was thought by all the abolitionists that they, more than all others at the South, were to be blamed. But when it became apparent, that the sentiments and influence of many of the churches and ministers at the North were likewise pro-slavery, there was not so general a consent to the censure which was bestowed upon them. I do not deny that there has been unnecessary harshness in the Liberator, towards both churches and ministers. But the language to which I refer came from the pens of others besides the Editor-ay, of some, I believe, who are now among his opposers. And, for my part, I can forgive both bim and them for uttering their feelings of indignation in words that burn, when I contemplate the heaven-daring sins of this nation, and see the supineness of some men, who profess to be ministers of the great Reformer, who gave bleaself for us, that he might redcein us from

I apprehend the subjects, on which the Liberafor has given to some of you the most offence, in consequence of which you have withdrawn you patronage from it, and are now anxious to establish another paper, are the rights of women, and the doctrines of non-resistance. Yet both of these, it appears to me, have been brought into the Liberavery naturally, not to say unavoidably.

From the beginning of our enterprise, certain vomen have been among our most efficient fellow laborers. They have written as well as the best. They have toiled as abundantly as the most devoted. They have been as fearless in encountering persecution, as the most stout-hearted. And, in oportion to their means, have given money more liberally. The question which has disturbed, and now seems about to divide us, is, whether these, our invaluable helpers, may yet do one thing more ay, two things-speak, and vote, at our public tings, whenever they see cause so to do it known to you, that the Convention at Philadelphia, in 1832, which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, settled this question, for themselves at least, without hositation. And three

It is not my intention, however, to discuss the claims of women at this time. I mean only to ask with what reason any have taken offence at the introduction of this subject into the Liberator? How could it have been avoided? Recall to your minds what led to its introduction.

Two women, whose names will live forever in the bistory of our country-women born and educated in the lap of slavery—themselves once guilty for a short season of the sin of slave-holdingwere, through the good providence of God, led to embrace the anti-slavery cause. With what joy we bailed their accession! "They came to the North, in order to acquaint themselves more fully with the Abolitionists-our sentiments and purposes; and to ascertain in what way they could most efficiently aid us. Many gathered around them, to hear all they could testify of what they had seen, and did know, of slavery and its effects Suffice it to say, that by degrees the Misses Grimke were led on, until they found themselves addressing large and promiscuous assemblies. Then arose the question of the propriety of their doing so. The discussion of the question could not be avoided. And let me add, brethren, it is still unavoidable. You can establish, if you choose, another

paper, but you may not so easily escape the necessity of pursuing this discussion. It is true your new paper may oppose the equal rights of women, but I see not wherein it will be any more consistent with the purpose or principles of an anti-slav ery paper to oppose, than it is to maintain their rights. The establishment of another paper, opposed to the Liberator on this point, I apprehend. will rather proveke than allay the discussion upon it.

I come lastly to the subject of Non Resistance. The opinions which have been expressed by Mr. Garrison and others upon this subject, have alarmed many of the brethren, more than all the other heresies of the Liberator. How did it happen that such opinions came to be uttered in that paper? Some of them, it may be remembered, were broached by the founders of our society. They were more distinctly set forth by the Convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society. From the very beginning of our holy enterprise, we have avowed our determination to rely for success upon our moral power. Exposed as we have been to persecution, to violence, to the peril of even our lives, the questions have often been earnestly asked how much ought we to endure? May we never resist unto blood? Hence arose the oc casion and the need of inculcating through the Liberator the pacific principles and example of Him, whose followers we profess to be. But as there are different opinions among the brethren on this point, different expositions have been given of the duty of abolitionists. The expression and maintenance of these diverse opinions has been the discussion at which many have taken serious offence.

The catastrophe at Alton could not pass unnoticed. If it was allowable for many of the brethren to applaud the course which the lamented Lovejoy took in his extremity, (and who was offended at their so doing?) surely it was fair that those, who regarded his course as unchristian, should exhibit their views to the brethren. There were some (myself among the number) who considered his resort to arms a fearful error. We felt impelled to declare this opinion. And this led very naturally to the inquiry, if brother Lovejoy did wrong, when and how may any man defend his property, his civil rights, or his life?

Thus, you cannot fail to see, how unavoidably the subject of non-resistance has come up for our consideration. Opinions may have been uttered which are not sound. What then? They cannot abide the test of free discussion. Meanwhile those only, who avow these opinions, are responsible for

I have, in the foregoing, endeavored, brethren, with great simplicity to remind you of the occasions of that offence which some of you have taken at the Liberator. They did not originate in any forgetfulness, much less violation, of the original purpose of that paper. On the contrary, we have seen, that on all the subjects, (excepting, perhaps, the Sabbath.) there was a call for the expression of some opinion from the Editor. I see not how he could have well avoided it. And now, I put it to your candor, whether you would have been disturbed-whether you would have thought he had gone out of his province, if he had expressed only opinions in accordance with your own? I suspect not. And in saying this, I mean to intimate nothing peculiarly discreditable to you. We are all of us apt to be offended at the strong utterance of opinions adverse to those we have long entertained. If Mr. Garrison had so written. on the subjects in question, as to have pleased you, he would have given offence to another portion of the brethren, who might with equal reason have withdrawn their names from his subscription list; and even insisted upon the establishment of another

I am aware that our opposers have endeavored to quicken the public hostility to us by noising abroad every opinion that any one of us may have adanced, and trying to identify it with abolitionism. Let them not divide and weaken by this mode of attack. While we freely disclaim whatever may seem to us erroneous in the opinions of our comrades on the other subjects, let us still manifest our united hostility to the institution of slavery; and present to our opposers an unbroken front, however various may be the sectarian badges that we Yours, affectionately, wear.

SAMUEL J. MAY.

From the Salem Register.

'ALL'S WELL' AT LYNN. At a large and spirited meeting of the Lynn Young Men's Auti-Slavery Society, convened pursuant to public notice, at their Hall in Union street, on the evening of the 18th inst., it was

Resolved. That the following preamble and re-Resolved, That the following preamble and resolutions, adopted by the Lynn Anti-Slavery Society at their quarterly meeting on the 16th instruction, receive the unqualified approbation of this meeting.

OLIVER PORTER, President. JOSEPH BREED, Rec. Sec.

Whereas recent disclosures have taken place proving beyond a doubt, that a scheme is on foot, the object of which is to displace the Laberator, and set up in its stead a paper more congenial to the views and peculiar feelings of some leading abolitionists—and whereas we believe the effect of such a course would be to paralyze our efforts, weaken our energies, and prove a cause of rejoic ng to the enemies of liberty and humanity-there-

Resolved, That we view the Liberator as the King of day in the Anti-Slavery enterprize; and however other periodicals have lent their aid in dispelling the night of Apostacy to Liberty in our country, yet we deem them all as the lesser orbs, corrowing their light from this one great luminary. Resolved, That inasmuch as we have been called upon to stand pledged at the coming annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Socie-ty, to be held in Boston, the 23d inst., we do sol-

emply agree to oppose any and every attempt to establish a paper at the expense or under the con-trol of the State Society. We have received a very long communication, gned A-Friend of Man, white as well as black,' in indication of Nathan Brooks, and a review of Mr. tanton's letter in this paper ; but we have no room

is week to notice it more particularly.

MUNIFICENT DONATION.

Our dearly-beloved brother, Genrit Smith, has sent the General Agent of the Liberator, a check for \$50.00, accompanied with the following fraternal

PETERBORO', N. Y. January 12, 1839.

WILLIAM L. GARRISON:

My dear Brether,—The above check for \$50.00 is my response to the well-written Appeal of Messrs. Jackson, Quincy and Bassett, in behalf of the Liberator.

Among the many things, in which the abolitionists of our country should be agreed, are the two following:

ing:

1st. The Liberator must be sustained.

2nd. Its Editor must be kept above want;—not only, nor mainly, for his own and his family's happiness, but that having his mind unembarassed by the cares of griping poverty, he may be a more effective advocate of the cause of the Saviour's enslaved poor. It is a long time since I have had the pleasure of seeing your hand writing. I should love to receive a letter from you, even though it were a short one.

With great regard,

Your friend and brother,

GERRIT SMITH.

This letter is characteristic of its munificent author The idea, it seems, has not entered into his noble soul, that the Liberator is unworthy of the patronage of aboitionists, because a portion of its columns are devoted to a free and fair discussion of the heaven originated ause of peace.

A VOICE FROM PLYMOUTH.

The following letter is from one of the stand rd bearers of the anti-slavery cause in Old Plymouth Рамочти, Jan. 20, 1839.

DEAR BROTHER,-Your editorial remarks in the two st numbers of the Liberator I have read with earnest and anxious attention. A crisis has come, when there must and will be a sifting of the abolition ranks. Every professor of abolitionism, who has not a sufficient nantity of the pure principle to overbalance the love f money and the applause of men, and who loves a cet or party more than the rights of the slave, will be shaken off as the unripe fruit from the tree. All the sound and healthy fruit will remain, after the storm has spent its fury. I cannot help thinking, that the ntinous indications in our ranks are to be mainly atributed to your boldness and fidelity in exposing the volves in sheep's clothing, who profess to follow Christ and preach his gospel, but who, like the Pharisees of ld, love the greetings in the market, and the apperjost rooms at the feast, and to be called of men Rabbi. Many of these carping sectarians, whose creeds are heir gods, who have preached for doctrines the compandments of men, whose love of power completely bsorbs all the noble impulses of the soul, and who aim to be the true pastors and shepherds sent from God, are making a desperate effort to get the holy ause of abolition into their hands, that they may de roy its vitality by abstracting its life-blood, and thus nake it subservient to their party ends. Here is the ifficulty-this is the obstacle which lies in our pathn obstacle more powerful and harder to be overcome, han all others combined. But, thanks be to God who eveth the victory through the truth, the bulwarks of ctarianism and bigotry are tottering to their very undations. There are a few choice spirits in every et, who never have, and never will bow the knee to Baal, whose souls are completely free from every party and sectarian chain, and whom no man will ever be able to bind. They begin to manifest that true indeendence which the spirit of Christ will certainly give. They are sick of professing Christ merely, and have no her ground of hope for the millenium than by living nd acting according to the letter and spirit of his com ands, and imitating his example. Don't be disheartened, my brother, but press onward, forgetting the things that are behind, enduring the cross, despising he shame, and seeking your reward in the approval

> ' A cloud of witnesses around Hold thee in full survey:
> Forget the steps already trod,
> And onward urge thy way.'

of your own conscience and the smiles of God

Ltrust you have a few kindred spirits in this hallow spot of the Pilgrims. Political and sectorian influ ace has done its worst to crush us and keep our numers small; but we hope that neither persecution, ridiule, reproach, or flattery, have been able to drive us rom the true abolition faith. You may depend on a oodly number from our society next week, who will ot be easily moved by the cry, Great is Dianna of ectarianism,' or frightened by threats of division in

In haste, your fellow-laborer during the mar ICHABOD MORTON

A TIMELY WARNING.

We cut the following from the last Dedham Put-

ABOLITION MOVEMENTS. Among our notices will Anotherion and the beating of the Dedham Anti-be seen a call for a meeting of the Dedham Anti-Slavery Society on Saturday evening next. Also, a Slavery Society will assemble notice, that the Norfolk County Society will assemble in the Town House, in Dedham, on Tuesday next. A State Anti-Slavery Society will convene in Boston on Wednesday, 25th inst., which will probably remain in session two or three days. The proceedings of this meeting will no doubt excite quite an interest among abolitionists, throughout the State. We understand that an effort will be made, by the clerical interest. that an effort will be made, by the clerical interest, to that an effort will be made, by the clerical interest, to supplant the Liberator, by creating in its stead another organ, which shall be more immediately under the control of the clergy. Objection is made to Mr. Gar-rison and the Liberator, because they will not allow themselves to be placed under their especial gauldore and supervision. This is wrong, decidedly so. If Mr. Garrison and his friends have commenced the war against slavery, and borne the brunt and heat of the bat-tle we see no good reason why they should not continwe see no good reason why they should not contin-to maintain the same relation toward the friends of e cause, which they have ever done, at least, untiey have been guilty of some indiscretion, which should render them unworthy of their charge. We don't understand that such has been the case. We then not understand that such has been the case. We therefore advise all auxiliary societies, in this county in particular, to send to Boston, on Wednesday next, a goodly number of good men and true, who will use every effort in their power, consistent with their duty as abolitionists, to defeat this impolitie and wicked measure. It is not too late yet to appoint delegates. They should be on the ground in season, as this question will probably be the first to be acted upon. Good men and true, see your duty, and do it well.

It is the wounded bird that flutters.' We have id that the scheme to get up a new paper, &c. was of clerical origin. In our present number, there are no less than three elergymen who come forward to astain us in our assertion! Now that they are detected in it, they affect to scorn all concealment, to be ery independent, and to glory in their conduct. The anguage which they unitedly use towards us, is simifar to what we have received from the lips of our magnant enemies ever since we began to plead for the lave. Behold the agreement! Who can doubt on which side the Boston Recorder, Vermont Chroniele, hristian Mirror, New-York Journal of Commerce Courier & Enquirer, id est genus omne, will be found ! Nous verrons.

Cuelsea. At a meeting of the Chelsea Anti-Slavery ociety, held on Monday evening, after an eloquen ddress from Rev. Mr. Colver, 15 delegates were appinted to attend the annual meeting of the State Soc ty, and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we entertain full confidence in the integrity and upright character of William Lloyd Garrison; that we are satisfied with the general course of the Liberator—consider it worthy of our continued encouragement and support—and will use our utmost efforts to sustain it.

NOTICE.

TO LET—3 Rooms in a brick house, situated in Fruit street, No. 12. There are on the premises good conveniences for rain-water. Rent very low. Inquire on the premises.

JAMES B. PARBADOES, Boston, Jan. 25, 1839.

PARTICULAR NOTICE.

JUST RECEIVED, at the Boston Tea Store, 120, ourt street, sign of the Hong Merchant, a few barrels of free labour Sugar, a beautiful article: Also, Loaf gar and Molasses, together with a very choice se-tion of goods, usually kept in a first rate Grocery

Store,
N. B. Gentlemen or Ladies from the country, visiting the city, will find it for their particular advantage
to call at the above store, as articles will be sold at the
lowest cash prices, either at wholesale or retail. Orders from the country will receive prompt attention.
Boston, Jan. 25, 1839.

LITERARY.

NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS PATRONS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN.

The wave is breaking on its shore-The echo fading from its chime Again the shadow moveth o'er The dial plate of time !

Oh, seer-seen Angel! waiting now With weary feet on sea and shore, Impatient for the last dread vow That Time shall be no more !

Once more across thy sleepless eye The semblance of a smile has passed; The year departing leaves more nigh Time's fearfullest and last.

Oh! in that dying year hath been The sum of all since time began-The birth and death-the joy and pain, Of Nature and of Man.

The brilliance of her heaven above

And Man-is whom an angel's mind

With earth's low instincts finds abode— The lowest of the links which bind

His childhood's morriest laughter rung,

Have soothed or burned in manhood's breast.

Hath mingled with the funeral knoll; And o'er the dying's ear hath goue

And Wealth has filled his halls with mirth.

While Want in many a humble shed,

And of her earth below :-

Brute nature to her God;

His infant eye hath seen the light

And active sports to manlier might

The nerves of boyhood strung !

And quiet love, and passion's fires,

And lofty aims and low desires

By turns disturbed his rest.

The wailing of the newly-born

The merry marriage-bell.

Spring, with her change of sun and shower, And streams released from winter's chain, And bursting bud, and opening flower, And greenly-growing grain; And Summer's shade, and sunshine warm, And rainbows o'er her hill-tops bowed, And voices in her rising storm-God speaking from his cloud !-And Autumn's fruits and clustering sheaves, And soft, warm days of golden light, The glory of her forest leaves, And harvest-moon at night; And Winter with her leafless grove, d prisoned stream, and drifting snow,

ecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat.

Heb. 10, 34. And took joyfully the spoiling of our It is

Toiled, shivering by her cheerless hearth, The live-long night for bread. And worse than all-the human SLAVE-The sport of lust, and pride, and scorn Plucked off the crown his Maker gave—

His regal manhood gone ! Oh! still my country! o'er thy plains, Blackened with slavery's blight and ban, The human chattel drags his chains-

An uncreated man! And still, where'er to sun and breeze, My country, is thy flag unrolled, With scorn, the gazing stranger sees

A stain on every fold. O, tear the gorgeous emblem down! It gathers scorn from every eye, And despots smile, and good men frown, Whene'er it passes by.

Shame ! Shame !--its starry splendors glow Above the slaver's loathsome jail-Its folds are ruffling even now His crimson flag of sale.

Still round our country's proudest hall The trade in human flesh is driven, And at each careless hammer-fall A human heart is riven.

And this, too, sanctioned by the men, Vested with power to shield the right, And throw each vile and robber den . Wide open to the light. Yet shame upon them !- there they sit,

Men of the North, subdued and still; Meek, pliant poltroons, only fit To work a master's will. Sold-bargained off, for southern votes-

A passive herd of northern mules, Just braying through their purchased throats Whate'er their owner rules. And he-the basest of the base-

The vilest of the vile-whose name, Embalmed in infinite disgrace, Is douthless in its shame !-

-to bolt the people's do Against the people clamoring there,-An ass-to trample on their flo A people's right of prayer!

Nailed to his self-made gibbet fast. Self-pilloried to the public view-A mark for every passing blast Of soorn to whistle through.

There let him hang, and hear the boast Of Southrons o'er their pliant tool A St. Stylites on his post, Sacred to ridicule

Look we at home !- our noble Hall To Freedom's holy purpose given-Now rears its black and ruined wall, Beneath the wintry heaven-

Telling the story of its doom -The fiendish mob-the prostrate law-The fiery jot through mignight's gloom, Our gazing thousands saw

Look to our state-the poor man's right Torn from him :- and the sons of those Whose blood in Freedom's sternest fight Sprinkled the Jersey snows-Outlawed within the land of Penn.

That Slavery's guilty fears might cease, And those whom God created men, Toil on as brutes in peace. Vet o'er the blackness of the storm

A bow of promise bends on high,

And gleams of sunshine, soft and warm, Break through our clouded sky. East, West, and North, the shout is heard,

Of freemen rising for the right : Each valley hath its rallying word-Each hill its signal light. O'er Massachusetts' rocks of gray,

The strengthening light of freedom shines. Rhode Island's Narragansett bay-Vermont's Green mountain pines ! From Hudson's frowning palisades

To Alleghany's laurel'd crest, O'er lakes and prairies, streams and glades, It shines upon the West. Speed on the light to those who dwell

In Slavery's land of woe and sin, And through the blackness of that Hell Let Heaven's own light break in.

So shall the Southern conscience quake, Before that light poured full and strong, So shall the Southern heart awake To all the bondman's wrong.

And from that rich and sunny land The song of grateful millions rise, Like that of Israel's ransomed band Beneath Arabia's skies :

And all who now are bound beneath Our banner's shade-our Eagle's wing, From Slavery's night of moral death

To fight and life shall spring. Broken the bondman's chain-and gon The master's guilt, and hate, and fear, A NEW AND HAPPYYEAR.

NON-RESISTANCE.

BIBLE ARGUMENT FOR NON-RESISTANCE. No. II.

stand forever. us an example of forgiving criminals, (as recorded in John 6th,) where he said to the adulteress, 'Woman, demned thee J She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus against the Non-Resistance scheme. said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: Go, and sin no It must be admitted that the punishing of offenders more.' Nor is this christian economy and polity pecu-liar to the present dispensation. When Cain had killed whether we can reconcile it with the chrisisan law,

tive christians confirms the Non-Resistance plan, since ing for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe. we read,

This view of christian law and polity well corres-

(2. Cor. 10, 4.) For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down in the most christianized nations, would 'deal death An argument in favor of the universal application of of strong holds." its intrinsic propriety, fitness, and loveliness. There seems to joined or authorized; Jewish laws, there can be no rea ating goodness, preserving mercy, and redeeming grace.

It is committed against his law, his gospel, his Son and defiance of his infinite natural perfections, and a disregard of his infinite moral perfection. It involves a practical defiance of his infinite greatness, power, dominion his goodness, his kindness, his beneficence. The aposand as doing despite to the spirit of grace.' The rights more numerous, and infinitely more important and sacred than the rights of creatures which they sacrifice. unspeakably greater, and more odious and criminal, ingratitude against our fellow-creatures. and fitness in his claiming the exclusive prerogative of vindicating and punishing. As long as he can forbear, surely we can and ought to forbear. In view of what omplain?

The intrinsic propriety and fitness of the great pracare still groaning under some form of military despot- chief, as he that doth serve. I am among you as him ism, civil aristocracy, or religious hierarchy, which pre-tends to govern, vindicate and ponish heretics, and that serveth.' transgressors, for the benign purpose of securing the to prohibit his followers not only from executing the public good and safety. But alas! what mere slaves penal statutes of the ancient Theocracy, but also to are mankind to these usurpers of divine prerogatives, forbid their assuming and exercising over each other who lord it over men's persons and consciences. Is the authority and lordship assumed by the officers of the heart of man deceitful above all things and desper- human government, since we are all brethren of the ately wicked? Let him be elevated to the offices of human family, whose only rightful Master or Governations of his power.

law, 'avenge not yourselves,' is further evident from the consideration that all mankind deserve punishment for messages from heaven to cease. their own sins. Is it not manifestly improper and absurd lives, liberties, and happiness of others, with authority others. to adjudicate and punish, when they deserve to be condemned and punished themselves? It seems too much like selecting a jury of thieves and robbers, to try one of 10, 9. their own company. How pertinent are the following the second.' words of Christ in relation to this subject. 'Let him hat is without sin among you, cast the first stone." Judge not that ye be not judged. (i. c. punish not.)
For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged;
From the Friends of Nantucket, presented on Wednesday,
January 16. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam State of Massachusetts : the fundamental quality of that overcoming moral in- whose conscientious scruples cannot now be admitted If thine enemy tunger, feed him; if he thirst, give exemption from the responsibilities which attach, either him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heep coals of fire directly, or indirectly, to the subject of war. on his head.

The above considerations are offered in favor of giv-non-resistance, there are individuals in this common ing the full and obvious sense and latitude to the chris- wealth, who are subject to much embarrassment, from tian law, 'avenge not yourselves,' and to the numerous the imposition, either of fines or imprisonment, to passages I have cited to sustain the plan of Non-Resist- which the members of the Society of Friends are not

I will now consider several scriptural and other obthe State legislature, have felt that the sufferings of than accuracy against the scheme of Non-Resistence.

A very plausible one is founded upon Gen. 9, 6. 'Whose sheddeth man's blood, by man themselves called upon to bear to the world, has so shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made identified them in this respect with the Friends, that

It was intimated by an objector at the late Peace Convention, that the divine veracity, (always pledged in a prediction) forbids us to consider this passage as a prediction, since all who have shed human blood, have Daniel 2, 44. In the days of these kings shall the God not lost their own. This difficulty will be avoided, by of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; taking the passage to be a divine threatening, designed and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall to deter from the shedding of human blood. The passage is to deter from the shedding of human blood. break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms and it shall sage and its connection seems well to accord with thi view of it. And since a bare divine threatening, (which In my first No. I alluded to the argument against hu- always shows God's right and disposition to punish the man governments, drawn from the divine protest transgressors of his law,) does not necessarily pledge against the choice of such a government by the people the divine veracity to fulfil it, as exemplified in God's of Israel -- and cited several classes of proof-tex's, which threatenings against Adam, and against Ninevah appear to prohibit the fundamental polity and meas (vide Gen. 2, 17, and Jonah 3, 4.) there is at least a ures of such governments. Among these proof-texts possibility of understanding this passage in a sense that stands conspicuous the practical christian law, 'Dearly perfectly harmonizes with the general application of the beloved, avenge not.—Tor vengeance is mine, I will re. christian law, avenge not.' The remarkable fulfilpay, saith the Lord.' Agreeably to this law, Christ set ment of this divine threatening, in all ages, seems to

where are those thine accusers? Hath no man con-

his brother, instead of signing his death warrant, and 'avenge not yourselves,' or not. This ancient, and ordering the guardians of the public weal to execute wrath upon him, for a terror to other evil-doers, we are told by the sacred historian-(Gen. 4, 15,) 'And the were the following. (1.) Murder. Deut. 35, 16. Lev. Lord said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven fold. We have no intimation that Lamech was executed, though he said, (Gen. 4, 23.) 'I have slain a man to my Adultery. Lev. 20, 10. (7.) Lying with a beast. Exod wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If Cain shall be avenged seven fold, surely Lamech seventy and seven [22, 19. (8.) Sabbath breaking. Num. 15, 22. Exod. 35, be avenged seven fold, surely Lamech seventy and seven en-fold.' Since God had threatened seven-fold ven. rents. Exod. 21, 15. (11.) Cursing parents. Exod. 21, geance to guard Cain's life from the hand of the aven-ger, Lamech was confident that a still severer curse of God would follow any one who should lay bands on men strive and burt a woman with child,-if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for It is believed the practice of the apostles and primi- eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn Another statute in this typical code, required those James 5, 6. Ye have condemned and killed the just, who killed their neighbor by mere accident, to flee for and he doth not resist you.

Cor. 4, 12. Being reviled, we bless; being per-refuge, and there to abide until the death of the high

It is presumed that few advocates of a human gov ernment would desire to have one established over them, so sanguinary and high-toned in its penal statponds with the apostle's description of the christian ar-mor, in Eph. 6th chapter, and also with his remark in many of them. Unless the state of morals should be

It may not be easy for us to comprehend the design this christian law, 'Avenge not,' may be drawn from and reasons of this ancient code. As far as God enbe an obvious and peculiar fitness and propriety in God's son to doubt that he had good reasons for them, to holding the punishing power in his own hands alone; discover all of which it would be necessary for us to for all sin is committed in more senses against him, than comprehend the design of the Mosaic dispensation, and all the ends proposed to be answered by it.

There is, however, a shorter method of answering this objection. The divine laws given to Israel through his Spirit. It is an insult to his infinite authority, and an outrage upon his underived and independent rights. Moses, were the statutes of a Theorracy, and not of a human government. God enacted the laws, appointed the It is an abuse of his matchless offers, invitations, warn-officers of the government, inspired the Seers and oncers of the government of th encampments, and settlement of his people, and in short, was the Governor of Israel, when the Mosaic code and justice. It implies a practical contempt of his grace, showing the manifest impropriety of clothing frail and was given. And the same reasons we have considered, sinful man with the powers assumed by human gov der foot the Son of God, as counting the blood of the sevenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, Is it not perfectly absurd, presumptuous and impious and as doing despite to the spirit of grace. The rights of God, which sinners invade by every sin, are vastly more numerous, and infinitely more important and attempt to execute the statutes of a Theorize? Besides, it is admitted that the Mosaic dispensation The ingratitude of sin, as committed against God, is has been abolished by the christian dispensation. Some are pleased to make a distinction in the laws given the Jews, calling some ceremonial or typical, some Hence said David to God, even in view of his sins of adultery and murder, (Ps. 51.) 'Against thee, thee oncivil, and some moral. All admit that the ceremonial ly, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear and binding upon the nations of the earth, since the when thou judgest. God, therefore, is infinitely more deeply interested in vindicating his truth and rights, his deeply interested in vindicating his truth and rights, his character and law, in respect to every offence and out rago of sinners, than any creatures are or can be. Hence there seems an intrinsic and obvious propriety. Hence there seems an intrinsic and obvious propriety

Jewish code. The apostle in Gal. 4th and 5th chapters, does not scruple to call the 'Sinai covenant,' or Mosaic dispensation, a 'yoke of bondage,' 'which we all deserve at his hands, 'Why should a living man gendereth to bondage,' and said to the Galatian christians, 'Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the voke of bondage.' To show that we have now The intrinsic property and not yourselves,' will ap-no right to enforce the penal statutes of this ancien pear still more manifest, by considering that God alone has the proper qualifications to vindicate and punish. He ing and other statutes of the divine author of the chrishas the proper qualifications to vindicate and plants.

alone has wisdom and knowledge enough to know when, and where, and to what extent it is best to vindicate and punish; and when and where it is best to forcate and punish; and when and where it is best to force that it has been said, 'An eye for an eye, and a cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force that it has been said, 'An eye for an eye, and a cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force that it has been said, 'An eye for an eye, and a cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force that it has been said, 'An eye for an eye, and a cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force that it has been said, 'An eye for an eye, and a cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force that it has been said, 'An eye for an eye, and a cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and when and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and when an extent the cate and punish; and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and where it is best to force the cate and punish; and where the cate and punish the bear and forgive. He alone has power enough to execute condign punishment upon his guilty creatures. cheek, turn to him the other also.' In the 13th of Mat. He alone has goodness sufficient to guide the operations we are informed that Christ 'spake to the multitude of vindictive justice and condign punishment, in a per-fectly righteous and desirable manner. Whenever for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are men attempt to avenge themselves, or others, they are brethren. And call no man your father on earth: for very prone to do it under the influence of selfishness, one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be olence, prejudice, and blindness. They are prone ye called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ. to fail in justice, honesty, impartiality, wisdom, mercy, But he that is greatest among you, shall be your ser and indeed in every important and necessary qualification. In Luke 22, we also read, 'And there was also tion for adjudicating and punishing. Such power, so a strife among them which of them should be actherefore, is safe in no hands, but in the hand of God counted the greatest. And Jesus said unto them, The to whom vengeance belongs;' and the history of Ju- kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and isprudence, of the church and world is a most ample they that exercise authority upon them are called benonfirmation of this remark. Perhaps nine tenths, if efactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greates not ninety-nine hundredths of the world's population among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is

The terms of these precepts of Christ seem plainly human government, and his heart will direct the oper- or is Christ. Christ had as good a right to abolish the The intrinsic propriety and fitness of the christian dispensation, and to prohibit the execution of its penal statutes under the christian dispensation, as

In my next and concluding number, I design to no to clothe persons with discretionary power over the tiee the objections founded upon Rom. 13, with some

* Vide Emmons Sermons (vol. 6, p. 210.) from Heb-10, 9. 'He taketh away the first, that he may establish

MEMORIAL

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the

out of thine own eye; and then thou shalt see clearly We, a monthly meeting of the Religious Society of to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.' How in- Friends of Nantucket, respectfully represent: That congruous, how intrinsically absurd is it to clothe frail while with grateful remembrance, we recur to the inand sinful man with vindictive powers. On the con-estimable privilege, which is secured to us as a society, trary, there is something extremely captivating, lovely, and convincing in universal christian forbearance, forgiveness, kindness, and returning good for evil. It is low citizens, who are liable on these accounts, and fluence which is destined to bring the world to Christ. in common with Friends, as a reason for a similar

In the maintainance of the peaceable doctrine of

liable. In viewing this subject, the meeting now addressing this class of citizens had become their aufferings, and that the Christian Testimony which such had felt they seem to be equally entitled to every privilege

nd favor of which that Society are the recipients. They feel, that their own exemption from military uty can hardly be considered an equitable boon, while ther citizens of this commonwealth, with equal sincerity, with the same conscientious scruples, are denied the free exercise of private judgment, and have o answer for their assumed offences, either by distraint of property, or by incarceration within the walls

of a prison Nor can they cease to plead the cause of such, while they regard the Testimony of universal peace as the only basis upon which every Christian superession, which at present is so limited in its operation,

Signed by direction of the meeting, held 12th month, 5th. 1838.

PETER MACY, EUNICE C. MACY, Clerks.

NEW YORK, Jan. 14th, 1839. overnmental restraint, (2) in the present state of the s to let loose the myrmidons of violence and blood pon the community. The principle, therefore, which eral Pope! ould let them loose, is a principle of anarchy and de- But our object, in this paragraph, is not to argue the ee Romans xiii. 1st to 7th. (3)

You state that you aim, instrumentally, to put down e reign of Christ, &c. ; and then you ask, if that is a Friend of Man for meddling with it? We shall see. government principle. I answer, no. But your ther assertion, that man is neither authorized or qualnent principle. (4)

By what authority, friend Garrison, do you assert hat I do not forgive my enemics? (5) 'Twere a trange inference, indeed, to conclude that because I iolation, the tender infant against infanticide, the inawful rage of the Jews, instead of weakly and unjustly arrendering him into their hands. (7)

You labor very hard, to confound the principle of on-government with that of non-resistance; and you alk of our denouncing all who hold the latter sentinent. But we do no such thing. We do not consider hose principles the same. (8) What you doem them, natters not to us. And your bare assertion that they are identical, does not convince us. Well, sir; holding hose principles to be different, we are chargeable with intolerance or inconsistency in disclaiming the one, nd leaving our members to hold their own views on he other. Nor yet are we chargeable with inconsisncy, in saying that the proper and the only legitimate nbiect for the consideration of Peace Societies, is that f war between independent nations; and, at the same me, pointedly disavowing and repudiating another entiment attributed to us, utterly repugnant, in our pinion, to the very object we have in view. Nor. gain, is it waging war upon the Society that holds that pnoxious sentiment, for us effectually to remove from arselves the imputation of holding it, by disclaiming And we do not denounce ' those who believe that chrisianity enjoins non-resistance to evil;' but some of the nembers of the New York Peace Society hold that sentiment themselves, but at the same time spurn the

Providence. I do not myself go armed; (10) I trust that Heaven will preserve me from violence—at least, of far as may be for Divine glory. But, my dear sir, all men have not faith. (1) and 1 for one will men have not faith. all men have not faith;' (11) and I, for one, would is already immense. Vessels are constantly arriving by no means leave them to butchery on this account.

I do not believe in whipping men into religion. (12)
Let those who have not faith be protected in their rights, notwithstanding. Let the christian suffer all of her citizens, who are constantly arriving at, and dethat he thinks proper; (13) but let the man of the parting from this commercial mart. One fact in partworld have justice done to him, 'by the powers that are rdained of God.' (14)

Yours as ever, ORIGEN BACHELER.

Notes.

(1) The apostle Paul thought differently; and we prefer his opinion to Mr. Bacheler's:—'For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son, in the likeness of included the manner of the sending his own Son, in the likeness of included the sending his could be sending his sending his seen fit, in his infinite wisdom, to create them a shade darker than our own self-conceited immaculate selves!—Dedkem Patriot. sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh : THAT THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE LAW MIGHT BE FULFILL. to is us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the was to condemn it, in his life and by his precepts.

not help it. Christ has disarmed us, and we have no power; and yet in our weakness, we are made strong, and in our helplessness, victorious. Those who are unwilling to submit to outrage unresistingly, will of in willing to submit to outrage unresistingly, will of Adams, we cannot in justice to our own feelings forbear

ciples to use the sword, Christ has disarmed all those who are called by his name. (8) A nice distinction, but fallacious. For a man

(9) The Peace Society might just as properly de his levee for his last class of graduates, ne TREATED ance,' as those who hold to the 'non government' principle,' (supposing there is a real difference beween these sentiments, which there is not)-because Telegraph. it has but 'one object,' which is avowedly foreign to either of these views. Why call our Society by a title

which it has not assumed? Is this ingenuous?

(12) Right-this is 'non-resistance

(13) But if he should forgive all crimes committed inst him, he would be an 'anarchist'! (14) Let 'the man of the world' come out from the world, take up the cross and follow Christ. This is better advice

FREE DISCUSSION. In the last number of the Friend of Man, bro. Goodell is out against the non-resistance principles, and makes some severe charges against those who adopt them. He abandons the democratic asness, founded upon individual convictions, theory, that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,' and clings to the old, exstructure can permanently be established: and to the ploded, arbitrary dogma, that 'the powers that be,' are end that this Testimony may be unrestrained-that it such 'by the grace of God.' He says that 'civil govmay more and more prevail in the earth, they would ernment is the institution of God, not the creature of respectfully ask the State Legislature, to investigate man.' When he shall define what he means by civil this important and interesting subject; in the firm government-what are its powers, and whence they onviction, that when it is deliberately considered with are derived—we shall be able to discuss the matter in reference to its high claim upon the Christian profes- an intelligible form. Commenting upon a letter from sor, it will result in such a modification of the law, as bro. May, he says- The very thing which constitutes will extend that liberty of conscience, to all our citi abolition, viz. the repeal of the slave laws, he don't betens, without reference to their peculiarities of pro- lieve in at all!' This is a mistake. Non-resistants can and do petition Congress to repeal all laws upholdthat it embraces but a small section of the Christian ing slavery. But there is a difference, heaven-wide, between approving a government based upon brute force, and beseeching those in nower to cancel unrightcour laws which they may have passed, and by which others are emboldened to act wickedly. Protestants in Rome might with all propriety, petition the Pope to rescind his edict, trampling upon the rights of conscience and the freedom of speech; but, surely, in so FRIEND GARRISON,-To condemn sin, violence, murder, doing, they would not be understood as sanctioning an ke. is not certainly to prevent them; (1) and to remove iota of the Pope's authority as the successor of St. Peter -and it would sound strangely to hear it said, that, in orld, when so few regard the precepts of christianity, order to accomplish their wishes, they ought to turn Catholies, so that they might electioneer for a more lib-

struction, rather than one of order and peace. It is matter. It is simply to express our gratification in kewise an unscriptural principle. For proof of this, seeing bro. Goodell free to speak out his mind on this subject, in the columns of his paper. Query-Will those abolitionists who chafe at the peace discussion in ll rule and all authority, only by the substitution of the Liberator, be as ready to blame the editor of the

N. B. We perceive in the second number of the Voice of Freedom,' the neat and well-conducted antified to govern man by physical force, is a non-govern-slavery journal in Vermont, a selected article in defence of 'human government.' Who objects ?

HUMAN GOVERNMENT. Perhaps no one sentence in the Non-Resistance Declaration has created more senrould have the defenceless female protected against sation, or elicited more comment, than the following - We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human ocent in general against wrong of various kinds, that government.' Howevery such government is constiam therefore an enemy of those whom I would have tuted-and why non-resistants cannot promise allegiestrained from the commission of those evil deeds. (6) ance to it—the reader may learn by a careful perusal is true that Christ did not resist evil; nevertheless, of the essay on National Organizations,' which was was the duty of Pilate to protect him against the un- published in the first and second number of our present volume. If any man can refute the reasoning and the facts of that essay, we should be glad to see him do it-

> TEXT. 'The Non-Resistance Society may die outright of an empty treasury.'- Rev. Joseph Tracy. COMMENT. In addition to other donations, which we

have published from time to time, to the treasury of the Society, we acknowledge the receipt of \$5 from Thomas Davis of Providence, \$5 from William Bassett of Lynn, and \$1 from Miriam B. Johnson of ditto. What cheerful giver' is disposed to follow these encouraging examples? The Society being professedly based upon ove and good-will, should exhibit the utmost vitality : and this will depend upon the energy and liberality of its friends.

In addition to his donation of \$26,90, we have received from Jason Barton, of Middle Haddam, Ct. \$3 for three copies of 'The Non-Resistant'

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE REPUBLIC OF HAYTI. It is a burning shame, ourselves the imputation of holding it, by disclaiming and a fact which ought to be more generally understood, that 'ours' is the only civilized government, of peated where our disclaimer is known. Thus have we thrown off no mask, for we have had none on. We confine ourselves to one object, and show that we do, by disowning any extraneous one, when imputed to us. suls reside there, upon terms of the most friendly unrestrained intercourse.—Nearly all the powers of rope have their representatives at the Capitol. ommissioners were recently despatched from the French government, to Port au Prince, with full pow representation of the New England Non-Government principle of the New England Non-Government Society. (9)

You talk of my lack of faith. I have nothing to locat of on the score of spiritual attainment: nevertheoust of on the score of spiritual attainment: nevertheoust of the score of spiritual attainment in the representation of the statisfaction of all parties, and a commercial treaty has finally been established between the two powers. The debt was very much reduced upon the spot, and a vessel of war is about to sail with the second instalment in advance. the second instalment in advance

entered into a commercial treaty with the country, are compelled to pay ten per cent extra on all export and import duties! The merchants of this country alone import duties! The merchants of this country alone which has, by its assembled wisdom in Congress, just refused to acknowledge her independence, are subjected to this inconvenience! Shame on such fastidiou

The Washington Correspondent of the N. Y. Eve. Star, speaking of Mr. John Quincy Adams, says—'It The only method Jesus took to prevent sin, is a painful and humiliating spectacle to all who have was to condemn it, in his life and by his precepts.

His disciples may safely imitate his example. If, when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously,' they are bound to behave in a similar manner. For even hereunto we are called: because Christ also suffered to the conditions of the Union, to support which he is bound by considerations fifty fold stronger than those of other men, and himself to be called to order for breach of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches the control of the rolls of the rolls of the Horse when the volumest reaches the rolls of the ror vs, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps.'

(2) If the forgiveness of all injuries and all enemies of pix. It is indeed a melancholy sight—one not calculated to awaken sentiments of mirth or scorn, but rather of pix. It is one this contains a stern and processing the contains a stern and the contains the e the 'removal of governmental restraint,' we canmoral. It teaches how the mighty may fall—how a

dams, we cannot in justice to our own feelings forbear to say, that a baser calumny never disgraced the American press. But let them not pretend to be the imitators of Jesus.

(3) We find no 'proof' in this reference, that to 'endure grief, suffering wrongfully,' is unscriptural.

(4) The principle is, that Christ should reign not the theory of the properties of the properties of the properties of the public career, from the dictates of conscience alone; and as to his recent congressional career, it has been marked invariably by inflexible integrity, and a noble spirit of independence. (4) The principle is, that Christ should reign, not If the 'youngest member of that body' has called him (4) The principle is, that Christ should reign, not man.

(5) By your own authority—to wit, that you have a right, at least by proxy, and it is your duty, to restrain and punish them by governmental force. If you punish, you do not forgive—

(6) No matter whether you can imprison or hang an offender without feeling any enmity toward him. You are commanded not to resist evil.

(7) It was Pilate's duty to protect him, according to hit eath of office; but, as a follower of Christ, he could not have sustained that office. In forbidding his dis.

| Adams, or to treat him disrespectfully, however much he may have differed with him in opinion.—Allowy | Pamily Newspaper.

not have sustained that office. In forbidding his dis. bany Family Newspaper. PRESIDENT WAYLAND AGAIN LENDING HIS INFLUENCE AGAINST REFORM!!

It is deplorable that the superior talents of Francis o assert, in one breath, that he holds to non-resistance of human reformation. The readers of the Telegraph of human reformation. The readers of the Telegraph will resulted by a countenance and aid to the to assert, in one breath, that he holds to non-resistance to evil-doers—and in the next, that a body of men, call ing themselves a government, have a right and are solemnly bound to resist, vi et armis, these evil-doers— institution at West Point. In his 'Limitations of human responsibility,' he has cast a stumbling block is to be as incoherent as the man who declares that slavery is utterly sinful, but that it would be groung to emancipate the slaves.

(9) The Peace Society might just as properly described in the most indubitable authority, that at this layer for his last class of graduates, are responsible. with wise! This single act will be a greater detriment to the cause of temperance than for all the
ciple, (supposing there is a real difference bement to the cause of temperance than for all the
runkards of Rhode Island to have held a festival and
indulged their beastly propensity to the full.—Vermont

A Nimrod .- Carey, a colored man of this place, is ther of these views. Why call our Society by a title thich it has not assumed? Is this ingenuous?

(10) Paul did. (See Ephesians VI. 18.)

(11) Therefore, unbelievers are released from the bligations of the gospel, in regard to the forgiveness (enemics!

THE GAGGERS AND THEIR TOOL. It will be a charles G. Atherion, one of the representation his state has risen to the enviable distinction his state has risen to the enviable distinction of the Southern nullifiers to apply to the people of the north when they petition to repople of the north when they petition to representatives.—We cannot believe there is representative in Congress from New Engla would have so degraded himself, as to become cat's paw in the hands of Southern gaggers, and treat with contempt his constituents, and petition Congress. Contemptible subservience eringing of a northern slave! Miserable rear the interests of the people of New Hampshire surrender of their rights!—Claremont Engle

COLONIZATION. A great effort is me the almost defunet Colonization S iliary has been formed at Springfield, little surprised to find that our free Journal has been drawn into the selection. have fully investigated the subject, confident that he would have con hat the scheme, as it has been acted up lendency to prolong and aggravate a country; to facilitate the prosecution of in Africa; and to impede the progress and christianity in that country.— Work

THE SLAVE TRADE. During the period he Curley on the coast of Africa, 66 of her crew, including five o length of time without any surgeon on t tured nine vessels, with 1600 slaves mander, Capt. Norcott, is still suffering of the fever; and during the passage ander Rae, one of the chief merchants DEATH OF MINS LANDON. The Atlas state

thority of a passenger in the brig Mary Paulin arrived here from the Western coast of Afric or two ago, that the poetess Miss Landon-L who married the newly appointed Governor. Leone, died soon after her arrival in Africa, The death of the venerable Isaac Tichenos, is The death of the venerable Isaac Tichene, in nounced in the Vermont papers. He died at his dence, in Bennington, Vt. in the 85th year of he Gov. T. was an officer of the revolution, Juge Supreme Court, and for many years Governor of Vermont.

State of Vermont. Died, on the 26th of June, at Bybrook, Jamaie Died, on the 26th of June, at Bybrook, Jama Letitia Cox. She outlived the oldest inhabitat parish for many generations. By her account a grown up young woman at the time of he tion of Port Royal by an earthquake. She he never drank any thing but water duning hife. She must have been upwards of 160 year. An old Black woman, at Holland estate, died months ago. 110 years old. Sha also ded. months ago, 110 years old. She also declared a never drank any thing but water. Holland is the po-perty of William Ewart Gladstone, Elaq, member in Newark.—[Jamaica Royal Gazette.

Value of a Fortification. The castle of San June Value of a Fortification. The castle of San Jan & Utloa, recently captured by the French, is an around Spanish fortification, built for the protection of the cap of Vera Cruz. It cost \$10,800,000, and had the shattage of great age, which had contributed to consider the walls. Yet the works mounting five hundred parameters with the walls. Yet the works mounting five hundred parameters are demolished, and the place taken in fare and said hours, by a detachment of the French fiet, considerable of three friends, one shound was address. only of three frigates, one sloop of war, and two banketches!!—Buffala Journal.

A Sign .- Out of the 46 members of Congress for the free State of New York, who had within the th last years voted for congressional gags, only four elected to the 26th Congress. Mr. Kemble and F s, members of the present Congress, who vo imbers of the last Congress, and Pinckney's and Hawes' gag, are all that remain a host who went to [their political] death in defend Southern Institutions.—Emancipator. There was imported into Boston, during the year Ki

the following gallons of spirits and wite: 133,994 gallons; brandy, 100,548 gallons; gin. gallons; whiskey, 421 gallons; cordial, 54 gallons; whiskey, 421 gallons; cordial, 54 gallons. The motations during the year 1837, were;—Rum, 1662 gallons; brandy, 73,502 gallons; gin, 118,427 gallow shiskey, 404 gallons; wine, of different kinds, 46, 20 Bonaparte Papers .- A large mass of letters at

documents, written by Napoleon when between heap of fifteen and twenty-one, have been discovered in the siea, containing much curious matter, and are prepared in the publication.

Suicide was committed on the 20th November by

Robert Watson, 88 years old, who figured in the a of 1780, as private secretary to Lord George God and afterward as president of one of the treassed

MADEIRA WINE.

Extract of a letter from an officer on board de U.S. rigate C dumbus, dated Madeira, June 5th, 1888. There are about 30,000 pipes of wine producedhe unnually, and of that not more than 10,000 pipes in ever sent to the United States: and yet, it is no le irue than strange, there are at least 50,000 pipes are ally served up at the United States hotels, under than name of Madeira.

Russia. An alarming revolt has broken out Georgia. Shiraz, one of the principal cities, has be tacked by the rebels, and 6006 Russians massacred. ARRIVALS IN THE PORT OF BOSTON. The wholenon

ber of arrivals from foreign ports into the port of Ba-ton in the year 1838, was 1313. Of which there were 166 ships, 75 barks, 509 brigs, 4 galliot, 1 ketch, 38

Of the above, 820 were American, 460 British. Of the Roove, 829 were American, 400 mmss, erench, 2 Spanish, 7 Sicilian, 3 Dutch, 3 Swedisk, 1 Danish, 1 Portuguese, 1 Bremen, 1 Dukedom of Olderburg.—Briggs's Bulletin.

DR. HITCHCOCK, DENTIST.

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